

MŰVELTSÉG ÉS TÁRSADALMI SZEREPEK: ARISZTOKRATÁK  
MAGYARORSZÁGON ÉS EURÓPÁBAN

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*Sorozatszerkesztő:*

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**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:  
arisztokraták  
Magyarországon és Európában**

**Learning, Intellect and Social Roles:  
Aristocrats  
in Hungary and Europe**

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## ELŐSZÓ

2013 szeptemberében az OTKA pályázat tagjai meghívást kaptak az Eperjesi Egyetemre, a „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: a 17–20. századi arisztokrácia műveltsége, művészetet és az oktatás fejlesztését, a birtokok építését, modernizációját támogató tevékenysége” című konferenciára, amelyet a város polgármestere mellett a kassai magyar főkonzul asszony nyitott meg. A 22 előadó közül többen elküldték tanulmányaikat jelen kötetünkbe.

A Debreceni Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara működésének 100. évfordulóján, 2014 októberében a Kar egy 12 szekcióban tartott előadássorozattal tisztelgett az elődök emléke előtt. A Történelmi Intézet két szekció munkáját szervezte, „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: az arisztokrácia változó társadalmi szerepe” címmel. Mindkettő az arisztokrácia kutatásának új elméleti és módszertani irányait kívánta bemutatni, az egyik európai kitekintéssel idegen nyelven, a másik elsősorban a kora újkorra és az újkorra koncentrálna, az intézet határon túli partner intézményei kutatóinak bevonásával, magyar nyelven. Az idegen nyelvű szekció munkáját a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia – Debreceni Egyetem „Magyarország a középkori Európában” **Lendület kutatócsoportja** és annak vezetője, Bárány Attila szervezte, az ő írásaik és neves külföldi vendégeik tanulmányai is szerepelnek a kötetben. A szekciók plenáris előadói Jean-Luc Fray professzor (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand) és jómagam voltunk.

Mivel 2013 végén megalakult, s 2014 tavaszán az egyetem szenátusa által is elfogadást nyert a **Nemzetközi Inter-Regionális Társadalomtörténeti és Néprajzi Kutatási Központ**, a most az olvasóközönséghez kerülő kötet a „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokrácia a 17–20. századi Magyarországon” című, az OTKA által támogatott 83521 azonosító számú pályázat résztvevői mellett az abban megnevezett egyetemek kutatóinak első közös bemutatkozása is.

Az arisztokrácia fontos, bár állandóan változó, és fő tendenciájában csökkenő szerepet játszott Magyarország politikai, társadalmi, gazdasági és kulturális elitjének történelmében. A főúri réteg azonban soha nem volt egységes, néhány fogalommal egyszerűen megragadható és leírható csoport. Ahogyan változtak a politikai-társadalmi viszonyok, úgy változott és módosult az arisztokrácia helye

*és szerepe, még hangsúlyosabbá téve egyébként is meglévő belső differenciáltságot. Az arisztokrácia társadalmi szerepének, tevékenységének összetett és árnyalt vizsgálatát azért is fontos kiemelni, mert a korábbi évtizedekben számos felszínes, megalapozatlan és ideologikus állítás kapcsolódott hozzájuk. A kötetbe tanulmányokat publikáló hazai és külföldi történészek éppen ezért azt kívánják a középpontba állítani, hogy az arisztokrácia tevékenysége, közéleti szerepvállalása hogyan, milyen területeken érvényesült, s ehhez kapcsolódva tudásuk, műveltségük milyen feladatok ellátására, pozíciók birtoklására tette őket alkalmassá.*

*A Magyar Királyság meghatározó szerepet betöltő társadalmi rétegét alkotta az arisztokrácia, amely az uralkodói hatalomtól fontos feladatokat kapott az ország irányítására és vállalta is a rangjának megfelelő szerepvállalást.*

*Ahogy Magyarországon belül Erdély külön régiót alkotott, úgy az arisztokrácián belül is sajátos réteget képeztek az erdélyiek. Az erdélyi arisztokraták társadalmi helyzetének, életkörülményeinek, karrierlehetőségeinek a vizsgálata jelenti a vizsgálatok második fő ívét. A 17. században a térség politikai-közigazgatási értelemben a fejedelmi udvar köré szerveződött, s a fejedelmek természetesen saját udvartartással rendelkeztek. Az erdélyi mágnásokat magyarországi társaiknál hagyományosan nagyobb és jelentékenyebb politikai, valamint társadalmi aktivitás jellemezte. Az erdélyi arisztokraták társadalmi szerepvállalásának kiemelkedő területeként jelölhető meg az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület.*

*A reformkori és a dualizmus-kori arisztokrácia különösen érzékenyen reagált a hagyomány kontra megújulás dilemmájára, az új jelenségekhez igazodva formálta ki saját társadalmi-közéleti szerepeit, de tudatosan új mintákat is teremtett. A 19–20. századi, átalakuló, modernizálódó Magyarország többször is új kihívások elé állította, társadalmi szerepének újragondolására készítette az arisztokráciát, amelyet a szerzőink tanulmányai a korábbi korszakokhoz hasonlóan alaposan vizsgálnak.*

*A sokrétű vizsgálatok eredményeit tartalmazó gazdag kötet reményt ad arra, hogy tanulmányai számíthatnak a szakmai közönség mellett az arisztokrácia iránt érdeklődő olvasóközönség figyelmére is.*

*Prof. Dr. Orosz István  
akadémikus*



## FOREWORD

*In September 2013 the members of the OTKA (Hungarian National Research Fund) Research Group of the University of Debrecen were invited to the University of Prešov, to give papers at the conference „**Learning and Social Roles: 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Aristocracy and its Culture, Art and Education Patronage and its Support of Agrarian Modernization**”. The conference was opened by the Mayor of Košice and Her Excellence The Chief Consul of Hungary in Košice. Several of the 22 speakers are representing themselves with their papers in the present volume.*

*The volume is the proceedings of the international conference held to address the centennial anniversary of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Debrecen in October 2014. The Faculty aimed to honour the memory of the forefathers in a series of papers, read in 12 sessions. The Institute of History organized two sessions, entitled “Learning, Intellect and Social Roles: the Changing Social Role of the Aristocracy”. Both wished to introduce new theoretical approaches and research methods in the study of aristocracy, which could bring forward new innovative possibilities, one with a European perspective, mainly in the field of medieval studies, in the company of renowned international scholars giving papers in English, German and French languages, the other focusing on the Early Modern and Modern Times, embracing those scholars, who have long been in a fruitful co-operation with the Institute, mainly from Hungarian-language research centres in present-day Slovakia and Romania. The former, foreign-language medieval session was furthered by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen „**Lendület**” **Research Group** „**Hungary in Medieval Europe**” and its organization was greatly helped by its leader, Attila Bárány. The articles of the research group and the ones of their guest-speakers of research centres from France through Poland to Germany are also to be found in the proceedings. The key-note speakers of the sessions were Professor Jean-Luc Fray (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand) and myself.*

*Since upon the initiative of the Institute of History the **International Inter-Regional Social History and Ethnography Research Group** was established at the end of 2013 – which was also acknowledged by the Senate of the University of Debrecen in Spring 2014 –, the volume is the first occasion where its members can introduce themselves to the public. The proceedings is also the fruit of the work of the members of several institutions within the **OTKA project „Culture and Social Roles: Aristocrats in 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary”** (registration no. 83521).*

*Aristocracy played an important, but continuously changing and in its major tendency decreasing role in the history of European political, social, economic*

*and cultural elite. However, the higher nobility was never a uniform layer that can be easily grasped and described with a few simple characteristics. As political-social relations were changing, its place and role did alike vary, further deepening its inner, existing differentiation. It is worth highlighting a more complex and balanced investigation of the social role and activity of the aristocracy, since in recent decades it has received many superficial, unfounded and ideological statements. Therefore, the proceedings aim to focus the way and the spheres the aristocracy played an active public role, and in relation to this, what tasks and positions they were to be assigned upon their intellect and learning.*

*The higher nobility played a decisive role in Europe and was thus allotted important tasks in the government which they duly undertook.*

*As Transylvania was a separate region within the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvanian higher nobles had peculiar characteristics within the Hungarian aristocracy. The panel's second focus is the study of the social role, living circumstances, career possibilities of Transylvanian aristocrats. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the government and administration of Transylvania was organized around the princely court, the princes had an own household. Transylvanian magnates played a more active and more significant political and social roles than their counterparts in Royal Hungary, as it is to be seen in the workings of the Transylvanian Museum Association.*

*The aristocracy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Reform Period was particularly sensitive towards the dilemma of tradition versus reform. It formed its own social and public roles aligning to the new phenomena, but it also made new patterns. They were to see many challenges in the modernization of 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary, and were to re-evaluate their social roles, which are to be presented in the prospective papers here, also giving a deep insight into these issues in earlier periods.*

*The volume involving the results of manifold investigations leads us to hope that its articles would attract the attention not only of the academic but a wider public.*

*Prof. Dr. István Orosz  
Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek  
a középkorban /**

**Learning, Intellect and Social Roles  
in the Middle Ages**



JEAN-LUC FRAY

## LE MÉCÉNAT ARTISTIQUE DES DUCS DE BOURBON (XV<sup>ème</sup> ET DÉBUT XVI<sup>ème</sup> SIÈCLES): ENTRE CULTURE DU NORD, ITALIE ET FRANCE CENTRALE

Dans l'étude des relations qui peuvent être observées entre la sphère politique et la sphère culturelle dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge occidental et à l'époque de la Renaissance, l'historiographie française a longtemps privilégié le niveau supérieur, celui de la cour royale des Valois. L'enseignement scolaire français mais aussi le cinéma ont, de leur côté, profondément ancré dans l'esprit des Français que la Renaissance était d'abord l'affaire des rois, constructeurs de châteaux prestigieux et mécènes de grands artistes, parmi lesquels la *doxa* scolaire n'a généralement retenu que les Italiens (comme en témoigne l'image, forte et populaire, des relations entre le roi François I<sup>er</sup> et Léonard de Vinci).<sup>1</sup> L'inscription par l'UNESCO du "Val de Loire" au patrimoine culturel de l'humanité n'a pu que renforcer ce sentiment...<sup>2</sup> Seuls les spécialistes de l'histoire culturelle ou de l'histoire de l'art prêtaient attention aux grands princes français, princes du sang royal (Anjou, Bourgogne...) ou grands féodaux (ainsi les ducs de Bretagne), mais aussi au rôle des officiers, des juristes et des marchands, tel que les hôtels particuliers de la petite ville de Loches, dans le Val de Loire, en donnent l'image...<sup>3</sup>

Or, dans le cadre des évolutions bien venues de l'historiographie des phénomènes politiques, les historiens avaient découvert et théorisé depuis les années 1960 le rôle, jusque là minoré, des "principautés territoriales" françaises: se faisant historien de la principauté bourbonnaise, André Leguai<sup>4</sup> avait créé le concept

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<sup>1</sup> François I<sup>er</sup> (roi de 1515 à 1547) accueille Léonard de Vinci (1452–1519) au château du Clos-Lucé près d'Amboise. Le peintre Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) a popularisé la scène de la mort de l'artiste dans les bras du roi (1818).

<sup>2</sup> Le château de Chambord (Loir-et-Cher, Blois, Bracieux) a été classé par l'UNESCO dès 1981; l'ensemble des châteaux de la vallée de la Loire s'est trouvé inscrit de fait au sein du „Val de Loire”, inscrit lui-même au titre des „paysages culturels”, en 2000, de Sully-sur-Loire (Loiret) au confluent de la Loire et de la Maine, soit sur 200 km d'Est en Ouest.

NB.: les localisations seront désormais données, pour les localités situées en France, par le département, le chef-lieu d'arrondissement et le chef-lieu de canton (dans l'état antérieur à la réforme administrative décidée en 2011, mais non encore effective).

<sup>3</sup> Loches: Indre-et-Loire, chef-lieu d'arrondissement.

<sup>4</sup> Professeur d'histoire du Moyen Âge à l'Université de Bourgogne à Dijon (†2000).

et l'avait défini, dès 1964, dans sa contribution parue dans: *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*.<sup>5</sup> Mais, dès 1945, Edouard Perroy avait posé que les principautés territoriales françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge ne pouvaient être considérées uniquement comme “féodales” (contrairement à la leçon marxiste), mais constituaient d'authentiques “Etats”.<sup>6</sup>

Or, il s'avère qu'il ne faut pas survaloriser le rôle des rois français dans les phénomènes de transmission culturelle et qu'il convient de donner à l'inverse – ce qui me paraît entrer dans le cadre de la thématique du présent atelier sur le rôle culturel de l'aristocratie européenne – leur pleine place aux princes du sang français (Anjou, Bourgogne, Bourbon, Orléans...) et aux grands feudataires (ducs de Bretagne, comtes d'Armagnac ou de Foix...), principalement sous l'angle de leur capacité à faire percoler le goût artistique nouveau au niveau du monde de leurs officiers et de leurs propres vassaux, voire des groupes canoniaux comme des bourgeoisies urbaines.

Dans cette perspective, le rôle des Angevins – qu'il s'agisse de Louis I<sup>er</sup> d'Anjou (*Tapisserie de l'Apocalypse d'Angers*, 1373–1382) ou du “Roi René” à Angers, à Aix-en-Provence,<sup>7</sup> ou à Bar-le-Duc et à Saint-Mihiel en Lorraine et, plus encore, le rôle joué par les ducs Valois de Bourgogne, dans les différents Etats de leur domaine composite, ont fait l'objet d'études approfondies aussi bien que de synthèses.<sup>8</sup>

Plus difficile et plus tardive fut la découverte du rôle de mécènes et de passeurs culturels joué par les cours de Bretagne, d'Armagnac ou de Bourbon. Comme il m'apparaît que cette dernière sera très probablement moins connue que la Bourgogne ou la Bretagne par mon auditoire hongrois et international, c'est à la principauté des Etats des Bourbons à la fin du Moyen Âge, non sans quelques coups d'œil latéraux sur le puissant et actif voisin bourguignon, que je désire consacrer mon propos.

Issus d'une famille de petits seigneurs implantés dès la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle aux confins des diocèses de Clermont, Autun, Bourges et Nevers, au centre-est du royaume capétien, les Bourbons tirent leur nom de la forteresse édifée dès avant le milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle auprès d'une antique petite bourgade thermale gallo-romaine sise à l'extrémité septentrionale de la cité des Arvernes, aux confins des Bituriges.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Au t. IV (1967), 133–157.

<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin of the Institute of historical Research*, 20, 1943–1945, 181–185.

<sup>7</sup> On connaît bien, depuis les travaux de Françoise Robin en 1985, la présence et l'œuvre du peintre flamand Barthélemy van Eyck auprès du roi René en Provence (Robin, Françoise, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence: la vie artistique sous le règne de René*, Paris, 1985, *passim*).

<sup>8</sup> Cassagnes-Brouquet, Sophie, *D'art et d'argent. Les artistes et leurs clients dans l'Europe du Nord (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Rennes, 2001, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Ont succédé à ces antiques *civitates* les diocèses médiévaux et d'époque moderne de Clermont et de Bourges. *Aquis Borbonis* figure au III<sup>e</sup> siècle sur la Table de Peutinger, avec vignette

Tout en léguant leur patronyme familial le plus fréquent (Archambault) au bourg castral emblématique de leur puissance,<sup>10</sup> les sires de Bourbon ont imposé et étendu progressivement ce vocable à l'ensemble des territoires disparates que leur patience, leur habileté et l'appui de la communauté clunisienne de Souvigny<sup>11</sup> et du roi capétien leur permirent, au long des XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, de rassembler aux confins des quatre diocèses précités et de part et d'autre de la rivière d'Allier, affluent de la Loire, donnant ainsi naissance à un "pays" nouveau, le "Bourbonnais".<sup>12</sup>

Simple sires en leurs débuts, devenus dès la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle des auxiliaires zélés de la royauté capétienne pour le contrôle de la France centrale, les Bourbon accèdent au premier plan de l'aristocratie française par le mariage, en 1272, de l'héritière avec Robert de Clermont,<sup>13</sup> l'un des fils de saint Louis, et par l'élévation de la seigneurie, en décembre 1327, au rang de duché-pairie par le roi de France Charles IV. Une politique matrimoniale habile permit ensuite aux ducs de Bourbon de mettre la main sur le Forez, le Beaujolais, les Dombes et l'Auvergne et de constituer ce que l'on a pu appeler "l'Etat Bourbonnais", une des dernières – au côté de "l'Etat flamand bourguignon", du duché de Bretagne et des possessions angevines – principautés territoriales princières au sein du royaume de

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thermale; *Burbuntis castrum* en 751 dans le récit du siège opéré par le roi des Francs Pépin (Continuateur de Frédégaire, In. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, t. V, 5); *castrum Borbonem*, 953–4 (Fazy, Max, *Catalogue des actes concernant l'histoire du Bourbonnais jusqu'au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Moulins, 1924, n° 49); *vicus borbonensis* en 1024–5 (Monicat, Jacques et De Fournoux, Bernard, *Chartes du Bourbonnais, 918–1522*, Moulins, 1952, pièce n° 3).

<sup>10</sup> L'antique *Borvo* porte le nom de „Bourbon-l'Archambault” (*Borbonium Archembaldi*) depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Aujourd'hui: Allier, Moulins, chef-lieu de canton. Le patronyme Archambault est fréquent dans la petite aristocratie des XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles en Berry, Marche et confins du Poitou.

<sup>11</sup> Souvigny: Allier, Moulins, chef-lieu de canton. La *villa... in loco silvaniaco* fait l'objet d'un don du *miles clarissimus* Aimard – ancêtre des Bourbons – à Cluny en 915–920 (Fazy, *Catalogue...*, article n° 36). Le premier prieur est mentionné en 973–4. Sépulture des abbés clunisiens Mayeul (994) et Odilon (1049), Souvigny est lieu de pèlerinage, mentionné dès la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle par le chroniqueur Raoul Glaber. Grands bienfaiteurs de cette „fille de Cluny”, les Bourbon y implantent un de leurs châteaux, mentionné dans le testament du sire Archambaud VIII en 1248 (Fazy, article n° 934). Le prieuré ne devient cependant nécropole des Bourbons qu'avec l'inhumation du duc de Bourbon Louis II en 1410. Fray, Jean-Luc, „Souvigny dans l'histoire du Bourbonnais, Aspects historiques et historiographiques”, = *Revue d'Auvergne*, n° 595–6 (2010), 9–49.

<sup>12</sup> Les Archambault commencent à se qualifier orgueilleusement de *princeps* (*dominus Archimbaldus princeps Borbonensis*), dès les années 1079–1085 (Monicat et De Fournoux, *Chartes du Bourbonnais...*, pièces n°s 5, 6/I, 6/VII et 17). Les premières mentions *In baronia Borbonensis* se rencontrent dans les années 1221–1264 (Huillard-Bréholles, Jean-Louis Alphonse, *Titres de l'ancienne maison ducale de Bourbon*, Paris, 1867 et 1874, pièces n°s 68 à 71, 86 à 88, 97, 171); *comptus terre Borbonensis*, en 1288 (*Ibidem*, n 207). *Moneta patriae borbonensis* est employé pour désigner la monnaie locale en 1296 (Archives Départementales de l'Allier, D 44).

<sup>13</sup> Il s'agit ici du comté de Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, en Picardie (Oise, chef-lieu d'arrondissement).

France: les Etats du duc Charles III de Bourbon seront confisquées en 1523 par le roi François I<sup>er</sup> sous l'accusation de trahison.

Contrairement à ce qui se produit pour nombre d'autres constructions princières constituées par agglomération (Luxembourg-Bohême, Habsbourg, Wittelsbach, Angevins, Valois de Bourgogne), les ducs de Bourbon exercent leur principat sur des territoires contigus, groupés au centre-est du royaume, avec un léger – mais précieux – débordement à l'est sur les terres d'Empire, dans les Dombes.<sup>14</sup>

Cette compacité géographique ne joue pas sur le plan institutionnel: chaque principauté conserve ses institutions et ses coutumes; ainsi, des chambres de comptes sont établies à Montbrison (dès avant 1317), Villefranche-sur-Saône (1342) et Moulins (1374), respectivement pour le Forez, le Beaujolais et le Bourbonnais, même si Moulins tend à prendre le rôle central au cours du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>15</sup> De même, sur le plan linguistique, les Etats des Bourbons se partagent entre les trois zones d'oïl, d'oc et du franco-provençal: au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le poète Jean Dupin, originaire de la région de Jaligny dans le nord-est du Bourbonnais, donc dans l'aire franco-provençale (étendue dans le centre et l'est du duché mais aussi dans une grande partie du Beaujolais et dans la plaine du Forez) se plaint de ses difficultés dans l'emploi de la langue française: "Si je dis mal, pardonnez moi / je fais par bonne intention / Je n'ai pas langue de français / le duché de Bourbonnais fut mon lieu et ma nation..."<sup>16</sup> L'étude d'Olivier Matteoni montre que le recrutement par les ducs de Bourbon de leurs officiers locaux (châtelains...) était aussi gouverné par les compétences linguistiques de ces derniers, leur capacité à comprendre la population locale, mais que ces mêmes ducs ont pratiqué également une politique d'encouragement au développement de la "langue du roi": la chancellerie du Bourbonnais, dès la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, rédigeait ses actes en français d'oïl. Dans le Forez, la main mise bourbonnaise à partir de 1372 se traduisit par l'envoi d'officiers centraux employant le français; les comptes des trésoriers du comté et des officiers de la chambre aux deniers de la duchesse-comtesse Anne Dauphine sont en français; chez les notaires foréziens, on voit, en un demi-siècle le latin, encore dominant au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, laisser la place au français du roi et non à la langue locale; il en va de même pour les prévôts foréziens, même si des éléments de dialecte subsistent dans leurs comptes.<sup>17</sup> Le

<sup>14</sup> Appelée aussi „Beaujolais à la part d'Empire", les Dombes s'étendent sur la rive gauche de la Saône et ont Trévoux (Ain, Bourg-en-Bresse, chef-lieu de canton) pour capitale.

<sup>15</sup> „La chambre des comptes a Molins comme le chief de toutes les aultres chambres des seignories de mondit seigneur le duc..." (Instructions de l'évêque du Puy, 1474).

<sup>16</sup> Cité par Matteoni, Olivier, *Servir le prince, Les officiers des ducs de Bourbon à la fin du Moyen Âge (1356–1523)*, Paris, 1998, 100, à partir de l'édition des *Mélanges* (vers 45–48) de Jean Dupin par L. Lingre, = *Annales universitatis Turkuensis*, Turku, 1965, 45. Mise en français contemporain: Jean-Luc Fray, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Gonon, Marguerite (ed.), *Documents linguistiques du Forez*, Paris, 1974.



Bourbonnais se révèle aussi comme la zone la plus méridionale où puissent se manifester les pratiques culturelles de la noblesse du Nord de la France: Bourbon-l'Archambault apparaît ainsi, avec Chalon-sur-Saône, comme point le plus méridional où la littérature chevaleresque du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle puisse imaginer la tenue d'un tournoi.<sup>18</sup>

Aux yeux d'André Leguai, le Bourbonnais est un Etat, parce qu'il dispose d'une base territoriale élargie, d'une réelle puissance militaire (qui lui permet de recruter sur le marché des capitaines et des bandes) et de revenus qui ne viennent pas seulement de l'exploitation du domaine, mais aussi de l'impôt, enfin parce qu'il possède des institutions copiées sur les institutions royales.<sup>19</sup> En revanche, l'exemple bourbonnais ne permet pas de pousser l'argument de la construction identitaire et culturelle (appuyée par exemple sur l'existence d'une université<sup>20</sup> et d'une tradition historiographique forte).<sup>21</sup>

Moins riches et moins brillants que leurs voisins bourguignons – à la tête d'une principauté qui tombe cependant en 1477 avec la mort brutale de Charles le Téméraire – moins “européens” que leurs cousins “angevins”, les maîtres des Etats de Bourbon et de leur capitale – la modeste ville de Moulins,<sup>22</sup> sur l'Allier – vont toutefois se révéler parfaitement intégrés aux courants culturels et artistiques qui caractérisent l'Europe occidentale du XV<sup>e</sup> et du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Voisins de la Bourgogne, souvent présents à Paris pour le service du roi,<sup>23</sup> les ducs savent attirer

<sup>18</sup> Meyer, Paul (ed.), *Le roman de Flamenca*, Paris, 1865, vers 7.182–8.095.

<sup>19</sup> Leguai, André, *De la seigneurie à l'Etat: Le Bourbonnais pendant la guerre de Cent ans*, Moulins, 1970.

<sup>20</sup> Ce qui, à l'inverse, est le cas des Etats bourguignons avec la fondation des universités de Dôle (1422) et de Louvain (1425), pour les Etats angevins avec les universités d'Angers (1337) et d'Aix-en-Provence (1409) ou encore pour le Dauphiné (Grenoble, 1339; Valence, 1459).

<sup>21</sup> Avec Jean Cabaret d'Orville au tournant des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, la tradition des „indiciaires” ou historiographes ducaux n'est pas absente de l'entourage de ducs de Bourbon (Jean Cabaret d'Orville, *Chronique du bon duc Louis de Bourbon*, éd. Martial Alphonse Chazaud, Paris, 1876) mais ne revêt jamais le même développement que celui que l'on peut observer à la cour de leurs cousins et voisins les Valois de Bourgogne...

<sup>22</sup> Issue d'une agglomération première modeste et à caractère rural (son nom même le démontre), Moulins, grâce à l'implantation, au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'une forteresse dont les sires de Bourbon se rendent maîtres à partir du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, connaît ensuite un rapide essor. Cependant, la ville l'emporte seulement au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle de façon définitive sur ses rivales: Souvigny, Bourbon-l'Archambault et Chantelle (Faure, Henri, *Histoire de Moulins*, Moulins, 1900, 2 vol., ici t. I, 6); Dussourd, Henriette (dir.), *Histoire de Moulins*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1975, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Les ducs de Bourbon possèdent, dans la capitale royale, un imposant hôtel, proche du Louvre. Les décomptes des datations topographiques des actes contenus dans le recueil de Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, montrent que le premier duc de Bourbon, Louis I<sup>er</sup> (1317–1342) date la moitié de ses actes de Paris et 38% seulement de localités bourbonnaises (le quart du total des actes l'est encore de l'ancien château éponyme de Bourbon-l'Archambault). Après une éclipse de Paris dans les actes de Pierre I<sup>er</sup> (1342–1356), la capitale royale fait une réapparition en force sous Louis II (1356–1410) avec 40% des mentions (autour de 70% pour la période 1380–1396). La

à eux une part de la circulation des artistes du Nord (flamands, brabançons, limbourgeois) au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et des artistes florentins au tournant des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Leur exemple influe sur leurs officiers, voire sur les plus novateurs des bourgeois de leurs villes, dont les initiatives, si elles paraissent plus modestes et plus tardives que celles de l'entourage des ducs de Bourgogne, contribuent à acclimater de nouveaux goûts dans une partie du royaume longtemps considérée comme vivant à l'écart des grands courants novateurs.

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Afin d'illustrer mon propos, je prendrai comme premier exemple le vitrail et le supposé retable de la chapelle de la Nativité dans l'ancienne collégiale (aujourd'hui cathédrale) Notre-Dame de Moulins, qui ont fait, encore récemment, l'objet d'une étude approfondie – et d'une hypothèse audacieuse – par les historiens d'art.<sup>24</sup>

Le *Vitrail de la Nativité* est très remanié, lacunaire (en raison des destructions dues à l'explosion de l'atelier des poudres de Moulins en 1918) et reconstitué. Les études minutieuses menées par divers historiens de l'art depuis une soixantaine d'année (l'américain Charles Sterling dès 1963)<sup>25</sup> et jusqu'à des publications très récentes permettent de reconstituer le schéma suivant:

- dans son état actuel, le vitrail représente, dans ses parties hautes, différents épisodes du cycle marial (Immaculée conception et Annonciation) et de ceux des deux saints Jean (en particulier une décollation de Jean-Baptiste); dans les lancettes, des donateurs qui semble être présentés par leurs saints patrons, selon la coutume.

- Les documents textuels et des indices héraldiques permettent d'identifier comme donateurs Charles Popillon, son épouse, leurs trois fils et leurs filles. Chevalier, seigneur de Riaud, Charles Popillon présidait la Chambre des comptes de Moulins sous le duc Pierre II (1487–1507); il fut le fondateur de la chapelle, à une date non précisée mais antérieure à 1499.

- Il s'avère cependant que le vitrail est composite: les donateurs sont en costume d'époque Renaissance, tandis que tout le reste du vitrail accuse un style typique du gothique flamboyant, qui pousse à en dater la réalisation d'au moins vingt ans auparavant. De surcroît, les saints patrons représentés ne correspondent pas, pour la plupart d'entre eux, aux donateurs dont ils paraissent être les intercesseurs...

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captivité du duc Jean I<sup>er</sup> en Angleterre (1415–1434), la main mise bourguignonne, puis anglaise sur Paris (jusqu'en mai 1436) et la défense des Etats bourbonnais contre le voisin bourguignon réduisent à rien les séjours parisiens des ducs, mais promeuvent Moulins comme capitale de la principauté. Sous le duc Jean II (1456–1488), le double phénomène de repli sur les Etats de Bourbon (77% des séjours attestés) et de promotion de Moulins (46%) continue de s'affirmer.

<sup>24</sup> Bruel, Marie-Elisabeth et Bruel, Jean-Thomas, *La chapelle de Jean II de Bourbon à la collégiale de Moulins, chef-d'œuvre oublié de Hugo van der Goes et manifeste du pouvoir princier*, Moulins, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Sterling, Charles, „Du nouveau sur le maître de Moulins”, = *L'Œil – Revue de l'Art*, 107, 1963, 2–68.

– Sur la base de comparaisons stylistiques, la réalisation du vitrail a été traditionnellement attribuée à Jean Hey. Les historiens de l’art savent désormais que ce personnage, peintre d’origine néerlandaise ou flamande – dont la période d’activité picturale s’étend jusque vers 1505 – peut légitimement être identifié avec le “maître de Moulins”, actif à la cour des Bourbons de 1483 à 1500, après avoir travaillé pour les Rolin en Bourgogne (*Nativité avec le portrait du cardinal Jean Rolin*, Musée d’Autun: vers 1480), puis pour le cardinal Charles de Bourbon, à Lyon. Charles Sterling avait été le premier, dès 1968, à proposer l’identification de Jean Hey avec le maître de Moulins; reprise par André Chastel en 1994,<sup>26</sup> cette thèse est définitivement validée depuis l’examen, dans le cadre de la préparation de l’exposition du grand Palais à Paris en 2010–2011 sur *France 1500 – Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, d’une inscription au dos de l’*Ecce homo* (1494? Musées royaux des Beaux Arts de Bruxelles) réalisé pour Jean Cueillette, qui fut trésorier du duc de Bourbon<sup>27</sup> à partir de juin 1488.<sup>28</sup> Les comptes du duc Pierre II comportaient également des mentions de “Maistre Jehan le Peintre”. C’est donc à ce même peintre que l’on doit, vers 1500, le *Triptyque de la Vierge*, chef-d’œuvre de la collégiale Notre-Dame de Moulins.

– Mais la datation nouvelle, désormais avancée pour les verrières des parties hautes du *Vitrail de la Nativité*, interdit de voir en Jean Hey leur réalisateur; il faut donc chercher à une date un peu plus haute le peintre auteur des épisodes johanniques et du cycle de la Vierge, un autre artiste ayant été chargé, à une date d’une vingtaine d’années plus tardive, de représenter les donateurs...

Or, les études de comparaisons stylistiques conduites par divers historiens d’art aboutissent à identifier également ce premier peintre comme un homme du Nord. Comme Jean Hey “maître de Moulins”, le peintre des verrières hautes du *Vitrail de la Nativité* aurait donc œuvré pour des commanditaires de la France centrale, à plusieurs centaines de kilomètres au Sud du Hainaut et de la Flandre, et il aurait même pu séjourner, lui aussi, à Moulins. L’étude récente, évoquée ci-dessus, propose en effet, sur la base de comparaisons stylistiques et de quelques attestations littéraires plus tardives – puisque le poète et chroniqueur Jean Lemaire des Belges (1473 – apr. 1520), qui fut secrétaire du duc Pierre II de Bourbon en 1498, évoque la présence de “Hugo le Grand” dans l’entourage artistique ducal – d’identifier l’auteur de la partie la plus ancienne du vitrail avec le peintre brugeois Hugo van der Goes. (1440–1482) et de placer cette réalisation entre 1476 et 1477, sous le principat du duc Jean II de Bourbon (duc de 1456 à 1488).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Chastel, André, *L’art français*, t. II, *Temps modernes*, 1435–1620, Paris, 1994.

<sup>27</sup> Aux gages de 1.000 lb. par an (Matteoni, *Servir le prince*, 180 et 372).

<sup>28</sup> Après avoir œuvré au service du duc de Bourgogne Charles le Téméraire, puis du roi de France Louis XI.

<sup>29</sup> Les comparaisons stylistiques sont faites avec les autres œuvres connues de Hugo: *Dormition de la Vierge* (Bruges, Musée Groninge), *Retable de Monforte* (Berlin, Staatliches Museum),

L'auteur du célèbre triptyque de la Vierge de Moulins, Jean Hey, ne serait intervenu sur le vitrail que plus tard, à l'extrême fin du siècle ou au tout début du XVI<sup>e</sup>, à l'occasion du réaménagement de la chapelle au profit de la famille Popillon. L'hypothèse est audacieuse; elle aboutit à renforcer de façon considérable la présence de l'art du Nord dans le milieu de la cour de Bourbon à Moulins dès le début du dernier quart du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est vrai que Charles Steiner, dès les années 1960, avait, lui aussi, poussé très loin, ayant cru pouvoir mettre en évidence "l'influence d'Hugo" sur la fresque des "Arts libéraux" du Puy-en-Velay.<sup>30</sup>

Or, à quelque kilomètres de la limite entre Bourbonnais et Bourgogne, au nord-est de Moulins, le petit village de Ternant,<sup>31</sup> siège, au bas Moyen Âge d'une petite seigneurie dépendant féodalement des comtes de Nevers, recèle, sous la forme des deux retables conservés dans son église Saint-Roch un témoignage fort – et plus ancien encore – de l'activité des peintres du Nord en plein centre de la France:

Le premier, un *Triptyque de la Passion* – en bois sculpté de chêne et de noyer, peint et doré pour le panneau central, en peinture à l'huile sur bois pour les volets latéraux – a probablement été commandé par Charles de Ternant,<sup>32</sup> compagnon d'enfance de Charles le Téméraire: ses armes apparaissent au bas du triptyque, encadrées par celles de son épouse et du duché de Bourgogne; ce retable était destiné à orner le maître-autel de la nouvelle église de Ternant, dont la construction avait commencé en 1448; le second, le *Retable de la Vierge*, était vraisemblablement destiné à un autel secondaire de ce même édifice paroissial; le bois, peint et doré du panneau central est en chêne, d'origine balte. Il paraît plus ancien et pourrait dater des années 1444–1454; le commanditaire serait ici Philippe de Ternant, père de Charles de Ternant, chambellan de Philippe le Bon et chevalier de la Toison d'Or depuis 1430. Les comparaisons iconographiques et stylistiques opérées par les spécialistes, conduisent, pour le retable de la Vierge, vers Tongres, Rheinberg et Hal, pour celui de la Passion vers Louvain et Hal.<sup>33</sup> Le premier serait flamand, le

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*Triptyque Portinari* (Florence, Musée des Offices), *Adoration des mages* (Berlin, Staatliches Museum), *Diptyque de Vienne* (Vienne, Kunsthistorisches Museum), *Saint Anne et un donateur* (Bruxelles, Musée royal des Beaux Arts).

<sup>30</sup> Sterling, Charles, „Jean Hey le Maître de Moulins”, *Revue de l'art* 1/2, 1968, 27–33. ici 31. Anne Courtillé, dans la courte synthèse qu'elle a consacrée à cette œuvre dans le cadre du volume réalisé sous la direction de Xavier Barral i Altet, *La cathédrale du Puy-en-Velay*, Paris, 2000, 291–4, ne reprend pas cette hypothèse mais réaffirme les influences du Nord et évoque une autre hypothèse possible, celle de l'attribution à Juste de Gand (v. 1435- apr. 1480). Le commanditaire de la fresque, le chanoine Pierre Odin, d'origine bourguignonne, avait été l'official de Jean de Bourbon, évêque du Puy de 1443 à 1485. Le Puy-en-Velay: Haute-Loire, chef-lieu du département.

<sup>31</sup> Nièvre, Château-Chinon, Fours.

<sup>32</sup> Né vers 1433, fils de Philippe (†1454) et d'Isabelle de Roye, une fille de noblesse picarde (Roye: Somme, Montdidier, chef-lieu de canton).

<sup>33</sup> Tongres: (*Tongerren* en flamand), chef-lieu d'arr. du Limbourg belge. Rheinberg: Rhénanie du nord (ancien duché de Clèves); Hal (Halle en français): Belgique, Brabant flamand, chef-lieu d'arrondissement; Louvain (*Leuven* en flamand): chef-lieu de la province du Brabant flamand.

second d'un atelier brabançon; or, la présence de Charles de Ternant est mentionné à Bruxelles dans plusieurs sources...

Plus à l'intérieur de la Bourgogne, on sait l'action de mécénat artistique joué par le cardinal Rollin: né à Autun en 1376 dans une famille bourgeoise, juriste de formation, nommé chancelier de Bourgogne en 1422, Nicolas Rolin effectue des séjours à Lille et à Bruges en 1425. Or, en 1428, il confie à Jan van Eyck la commande du tableau connu sous le nom de "*La Vierge au chancelier Rollin*" pour la chapelle qu'il a fondée au sein de la collégiale Notre-Dame-du-Châtel à Autun. En 1443, il fonde l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune et commande à Rogier van der Weyden le retable du *Jugement dernier*, réalisé entre 1443 et 1450.

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Ces liens artistiques avec le Nord de l'Europe ne doivent pas étonner: ils viennent parachever des liaisons politiques et économiques plus anciennes: on évoquera, comme fondateur de l'ouverture politique des pays de la France centrale vers le Nord, le mariage du comte d'Auvergne Guillaume X avec la fille du duc de Brabant Henri (vers 1225), mariage qui mit pour la première fois les élites politiques auvergnates en relation avec les espaces lotharingiens et permit, un peu plus tard, aux comtes d'Auvergne d'ajouter à ce titre celui de comtes de Boulogne, plus prestigieux encore, puisque les autorisant à revendiquer une parenté mythique avec Godefroy de Bouillon, le héros de la première croisade,<sup>34</sup> tandis que les prénoms brabançons Henri et Godefroy s'implantaient dans l'onomastique de la lignée comtale auvergnate, laquelle put également placer ses cadets sur des sièges épiscopaux de la partie francophone de l'Empire, à Liège, Tournai et Cambrai.<sup>35</sup>

De leur côté, les Bourbons avaient contracté alliance, dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec les comtes de Hainaut par le mariage du premier duc de Bourbon Louis I<sup>er</sup> (sire, puis duc de 1317 à 1342) avec Marie de Hainaut. Leurs voisins les ducs de Bourgogne devaient, comme on le sait, contracter (en 1369 par l'union de Philippe le Hardi et de Marguerite de Flandre) un mariage flamand, origine de l'organisation double ("pays de par-deçà" et "pays de par-delà"), de "l'Etat flamand-bourguignon". Ainsi s'expliquent les armoiries aujourd'hui encore arborées

<sup>34</sup> Une parenté et une revendication mémorielle que le roi de France Charles V semble avoir entérinées en présence de l'empereur lors du séjour de ce dernier à Paris en 1378, comme en témoigne une miniature des *Grandes chroniques de France* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 2.813, f<sup>o</sup> 473 v<sup>o</sup>) mettant en valeur le comte d'Auvergne et ses armoiries dans une scène de croisade donnée en entremet.

<sup>35</sup> Fray, Jean-Luc, „Les comtes d'Auvergne, le Brabant et le Boulonnais au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: de la Limagne à la Lotharingie”, In. *Retour aux sources, Textes, études et documents offerts à Michel Parisse*, Paris, 2004, 405–417. Liège: Belgique, chef-lieu de province; Tournai (en flamand: *Doornik*): Belgique, province du Hainaut, chef-lieu d'arrondissement; Cambrai: Nord, chef-lieu d'arrondissement.

par la petite ville de Decize<sup>36</sup>: “d’or au lion de sable armé et lampassé de gueules” (Flandres), “à la bordure componée d’argent et de gueule” (Bourgogne ancien), armes accordées en 1383 à cette petite localité du comté de Nevers par le duc Philippe le Hardi et son épouse Marguerite, comtesse de Flandre. De même, c’est probablement aux retombées de cette même union dynastique en termes d’influences architecturales que l’hôtel comtal des monnaies de Nevers (début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) doit son pignon à redans à la manière flamande...

Issus de la lignée capétienne, descendants du saint roi Louis IX, “princes des fleurs de lys”, les ducs de Bourbon n’étaient pas ignorants des réalités de l’Empire et du monde germanique: Pierre I<sup>er</sup> (duc de 1342 à 1356) est le fils de Marie de Hainaut, donc descendant des comtes de Hainaut, princes francophones (maison d’Avesnes), mais d’Empire; l’une de ses tantes paternelle, Marguerite de Bourbon, avait épousé un comte de Namur; il est le beau-frère de Jean de Luxembourg, prince bilingue comme tous les Luxembourg, qui a épousé en 1334 sa sœur Béatrice; à ce titre, le roi de Bohême perçoit des rentes en Bourbonnais et en Auvergne.<sup>37</sup> L’une des filles de Pierre, Bonne de Bourbon,<sup>38</sup> épousera un duc de Brabant. Or, depuis 1300, les comtes de Hainaut sont également comtes de Hollande et de Zélande et seigneurs de la Frise; les intérêts économiques de leurs nouvelles possessions les mettent en relation avec la ligue hanséatique, si présente dans tous les ports de la mer du Nord et de la Baltique.

Un *dux Borbonie*, qui ne peut être que Pierre I<sup>er</sup>, est mentionné par la chronique tchèque *Kronika Benese z weitmile* parmi les compagnons du roi de Bohême Jean l’Aveugle dans son expédition (1345–1346) en Prusse contre les Lithuaniens

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<sup>36</sup> Nièvre, Nevers, chef-lieu de canton.

<sup>37</sup> Reichert, Winfried, *Landesherrschaft zwischen Reich und Frankreich. Verfassung, Wirtschaft und Territorialpolitik in der Grafschaft Luxemburg von der Mitte des 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Trèves, 1973, t. I, 467. Le traité de mariage du comte de Luxembourg et roi de Bohême Jean avec Béatrice, fille de Louis, duc de Bourbonnais et comte de la Marche, prévoyait que le roi de Bohême pourrait disposer au titre de la dot de sa femme de seigneuries dans le Val de Loire (Gien: Loiret, Montargis, chef-lieu de canton), le Bourbonnais et le Berry (notamment Mehun-sur-Yèvre: Cher, Vierzon, chef-lieu de canton), mais aussi en Auvergne (au Crest, à 15 km au sud de Clermont-Ferrand), tandis qu’à l’inverse le douaire de Béatrice serait assis sur les châtellenies d’Arlon (auj.: chef-lieu de la province belge du Luxembourg), Damvillers et Marville (ces deux localités,auj.: département de la Meuse, arrondissement de Verdun, chefs-lieux de canton). En 1384, le chancelier du duc Louis II de Bourbon et l’un de ses chambellans sont envoyés auprès du roi des Romains Wenceslas, cousin germain du duc, pour régler la succession de la reine Béatrice; d’autres ambassades bourbonnaises seront envoyées jusqu’en 1399 à Luxembourg et à Ivoy (auj.: Carignan, département des Ardennes, arrondissement de Sedan, chef-lieu de canton); cf. Fray, *Les comtes d’Auvergne*.

<sup>38</sup> Ce prénom Bonne (*Guta*) est d’origine germanique et a pu transiter par la famille de Luxembourg.

païens par la chronique tchèque *Kronika Benese z weitmile*.<sup>39</sup> Le compte tenu par Jean de Niederheim pour le voyage en Prusse de Guillaume IV de Hollande, cousin de Pierre de Bourbon, mentionne à plusieurs reprises en février et mars 1344 “*Haren Ghered, cnape van Borbon groef*” (Messire Ghered [de Florenville], jeune garçon, page ou écuyer du “comte de Bourbon” – qui pourrait être le frère cadet de Pierre, Jacques I<sup>er</sup> de Bourbon, comte de la Marche), et sa présence à Koenigsberg.<sup>40</sup> Le comte de La Marche retournera en Prusse dans l’hiver 1352–1353.<sup>41</sup> De même, son neveu le duc de Bourbon Louis II, au retour de son expédition de Guyenne en 1374 contre les Anglais, décidera de participer à la “rèze de Prusse” avec nombre de chevaliers bourbonnais et foréziens, membres de son hôtel.<sup>42</sup>

La lignée ducale de Bourbon avait un cri de guerre germanique (“*Allen*”), encore aujourd’hui proclamé dans la pierre, sur la façade du château ducal de Moulins et, en même temps que sa devise en français (“Espérance”), sur un document comptable forézien du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans leur atelier monétaire des Dombes, au-delà de la Saône, la seule de leurs possessions qui ne soit pas en France, mais en terre d’Empire, les ducs de Bourbon frappaient des monnaies au type impérial, antiquisant, comme l’avaient fait avant eux les ducs de Milan. Est-ce un hasard si Dieu le père, dans le vitrail de Moulins est représenté comme un empereur, à la manière germanique, et non tiaré? Plus prosaïquement, des serviteurs originaires de l’Allemagne du nord-ouest gravitaient dans l’entourage ducal, ainsi Conrad Heingarten, astrologue du duc Jean II<sup>43</sup> ou Thierry de Clèves, chambellan et barbier-chirurgien de ce même duc; ce Thierry possédait à Moulins une maison à pans de bois, rue Grenier.<sup>44</sup> Peut-être est-ce à ces contacts de la cour ducale que l’on doit aussi la présence d’un certain “Ausse de Huissembort” (Hanus de Wissembourg), marchand de Clermont,<sup>45</sup> suffisamment bien implanté pour y fonder une vicairie en la collégiale Notre-Dame du Port en

<sup>39</sup> *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, t. IV, 511, Prague, 1884 (cité par Troubat, Olivier, *La guerre de Cent Ans et le prince chevalier, le „bon duc” Louis de Bourbon, 1337–1410*, 2 vol., Montluçon, 2001–3, t. I, 575, n. 10).

<sup>40</sup> *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, ed. Théodor Hirsch et alii, Leipzig, 1861–74, t. II, 742–751.

<sup>41</sup> Paris, Archives Nationales, X 1C 7 (cité par Troubat, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>42</sup> Troubat, *La guerre de cent Ans*, t. I, 571–585. Sur la participation des auvergnats et bourbonnais à la croisade de Prusse consulter également: Paravicini, Werner, *Die Preussereisen des europäischen Adels*, Sigmaringen, 1995, 94–101; Leguai, André, „Bourbonnais et Auvergnats à la croisade de Prusse”, = *Etudes bourbonnaises*, 258, 1991, 93–97; Matteoni, Servir le prince, 88, 381, 443 et notes.

<sup>43</sup> Matteoni, Servir le prince, 123, n. 162.

<sup>44</sup> Jean I<sup>er</sup> de La Marck, duc de Clèves (de 1448 à 1481), fils du premier duc de Clèves, Adolphe I<sup>er</sup> et de Marie de Bourgogne a épousé en 1455 à Bruges Elisabeth de Nevers (1439–1483), fille de Jean I<sup>er</sup>, comte de Nevers et Rethel, héritière du comté; leur second fils, Engelbert, né en 1462, devient comte de Nevers en 1491 et son frère Philippe évêque de Nevers, puis d’Autun dans les premières années du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle; Engelbert (†1506) avait épousé une Charlotte de Bourbon (1474–1520).

<sup>45</sup> Clermont-[Ferrand]: Puy-de-Dôme, chef-lieu du département.

1460<sup>46</sup> et celle du bourgeois d'origine allemande (bavaroise?) "Raustemus de Freistet" dans la petite ville épiscopale voisine de Billom<sup>47</sup> dès 1415.<sup>48</sup>

Nous savons que le duc Louis II (duc de 1356 à 1410), contemporain de Jean de Berry, était un prince cultivé.<sup>49</sup> Son successeur Jean I<sup>er</sup> s'adonnait à la poésie, ce dont le louent Charles d'Orléans et Christine de Pizan. Charles I<sup>er</sup> (duc de 1434 à 1456) est considéré par André Leguai<sup>50</sup> comme celui qui donna forme à la cour de Moulins. De tous les ducs, Jean II (duc de 1456 à 1488) fut certainement le plus lettré; mais son frère et successeur Pierre II (duc de 1488 à 1507 après avoir été sire de Beaujolais) et l'épouse de celui-ci, Anne de Beaujeu, fille du roi Louis XI, se caractérisèrent par l'activité de leur mécénat. Ainsi la duchesse Anne de Beaujeu fit-elle réaménager une aile du palais ducal de Moulins ("Pavillon Anne de Beaujeu") selon le goût nouveau de la Renaissance.

L'exemple devait être imité par le milieu des hauts officiers de la cour et de l'administration des différents Etats (Bourbonnais, Forez, Beaujolais, Dombes, Auvergne) formant l'ensemble gouverné depuis Moulins.<sup>51</sup> Le milieu des serviteurs bourbonnais était en effet loin d'être fermé:<sup>52</sup> beaucoup de ces hommes étaient aussi au service du roi de France ou d'autres princes du sang; ils étaient donc par là conduits à séjourner fréquemment à Paris. Christine de Pizan fait ainsi l'éloge des qualités littéraires de deux officiers de la cour de Bourbon, François "d'Aubercicourt" – probablement originaire de la "Flandre wallonne", c'est-à-dire de langue française<sup>53</sup> – et le forézien Jean de Châteaumorand;<sup>54</sup> c'est très certainement d'ailleurs au second qu'elle doit une part notable des informations de première main dont elle se sert pour rédiger sa *Vie de Charles V*.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, 4 G 534, n 7 (1459) et 4 G 11 (1460). La famille Vincenbourg est encore notable à Clermont au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et y compte des notaires et des chanoines (Tardieu, André, *Histoire de Clermont*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1871–2, t. I, 264 et 410).

<sup>47</sup> Puy-de-Dôme, Clermont-Ferrand, chef-lieu de canton.

<sup>48</sup> Paris, Archives Nationales, J 832 / 11. D'autres membres de la famille sont mentionnés à Billom à cette époque, dont un chanoine de la collégiale locale Saint-Cyriaque (je remercie Thomas Areal, doctorant sous ma direction, pour cette indication). Freistadt est aujourd'hui situé en Autriche (*Land* de Basse-Autriche), sur la route de Linz à Prague, dans les montagnes frontalières entre Autriche et Bohême.

<sup>49</sup> Troubat, *La guerre de Cent Ans*, t. I, 52–8.

<sup>50</sup> Leguai, André, *Nouvelle histoire du Bourbonnais*, Roanne, 1985, 231–4.

<sup>51</sup> Matteoni, *Servir le prince*, chapitre XII: Culture et sentiment religieux des officiers (p. 441–458).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, 444 et n. 18 et 19, avec références.

<sup>53</sup> Aubercicourt: Nord, arr. et canton de Douai.

<sup>54</sup> Jean de Châteaumorand (château et seigneurie; aujourd'hui: cne. de Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux, Loire, Roanne, La Pacaudière) sera promu en 1411 sénéchal de Lyon et bailli royal de Mâcon et, en 1412, sénéchal royal de Beaucaire (Matteoni, *Servir le prince*, 394, avec réf.).

<sup>55</sup> Matteoni, *Servir le prince*, 443 et n. 16 (avec réf.).



Même si l'on peut supposer qu'un certain nombre d'officiers de la cour de Moulins partageaient déjà, dès la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les goûts de leur maître Louis II pour les idées pré-humanistes,<sup>56</sup> c'est à partir des années 1440 que l'on voit les activités littéraires des officiers bourbonnais devenir plus soutenues, Moulins étant devenue, à la fin du principat de Charles I<sup>er</sup>, une cour à l'activité littéraire importante, que sa position géographique soumettait aux influences artistiques des cours de Blois et d'Orléans d'une part et de la cour bourguignonne d'autre part.<sup>57</sup>

Mais c'est à la fin du siècle que "l'enthousiasme humaniste et mécénal" des officiers de la cour de Bourbon se déploie avec toute son ampleur, alors que la cour de Dijon a disparu avec la mort brutale du Téméraire en 1477 et que les ducs de Bourbon se retrouvent, le roi Louis XI ayant également abattu la maison d'Armagnac (1473), quasiment les seuls grands princes territoriaux français subsistant avec les ducs de Bretagne et, un cran en dessous, les comtes de Foix et les Albret.

Il faut ainsi faire une place à la figure de Jean Robertet (†1490), secrétaire du duc Jean II (vers 1464) et du roi de France Louis XI: le personnage entretenait des rapports littéraires avec le cercle des poètes de Blois – il participa en 1459 au "concours de Blois" organisé par Charles d'Orléans – mais aussi avec la cour des ducs de Bourgogne, notamment avec leur "indiciaire", Georges Chastellain. Si la première partie de la production littéraire de Robertet apparaît très influencée par Charles d'Orléans et par Georges Chastellain, sa thématique s'enrichit après 1470 d'apports italiens, notamment Boccace et Pétrarque, mais aussi l'historien Filippo Barbieri de Syracuse (Robertet avait accompli un voyage en Italie vers 1450 et appris la langue). Il est possible qu'il ait dû une bonne part de son excellente culture antiquisante (Tite-Live, Justin, Salluste, César, Valère-Maxime, Lucain, Ovide, Horace, Tacite, Cicéron...) à la fréquentation de la bibliothèque ducal de Moulins, dont nous savons par un inventaire qu'elle possédait des œuvres de Tite-Live, Valère Maxime, Cicéron et Ovide.<sup>58</sup>

Plus tard, Jean Cueillette, trésorier général des finances de 1488 à 1497, homme politique d'une grande culture – il avait fait acheter deux des manuscrits de la *Cité de Dieu* présents dans la bibliothèque ducal – passa commande, en 1494, à Jean Hey d'un *Ecce homo*, aujourd'hui conservé à Bruxelles.<sup>59</sup>

Mais, évoquant la peinture de leur temps dans leurs œuvres poétiques, Jean Robertet et Jean Lemaire des Belges (1473. apr. 1520),<sup>60</sup> tout en citant les maîtres flamands, Jean Hey et Rogier van der Weyden, se montrent tous deux sensibles à la peinture italienne – notamment à la perspective – que l'on commence à découvrir à la cour

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, 444.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, 445 et n. 29 (avec réf.).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, 446 et n. 33 à 37; 447 et n. 38 à 43 (avec réf.).

<sup>59</sup> Raynaud, Nicole, „Jean Hey peintre de Moulins et son client Jean Cueillette”, = *Revue de l'Art*, n 1–2 (1968), 27–34.

<sup>60</sup> Il fut clerc des finances de Pierre II à Villefranche-sur-Saône de 1498 à 1503.

italianisante de Moulins à l'extrême fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et certains de leurs écrits montrent qu'ils connaissaient des peintres italiens contemporains célèbres: ainsi le vénitien Gentile Bellini (1429–1507), Le Pérugin (1445–1523) ou le florentin Léonard de Vinci (1452–1519), pour Jean Lemaire, qui les cite dans sa *Plainte du Désiré*, composée en 1503.<sup>61</sup>

En quels lieux se manifeste ce mécénat artistique des hauts officiers de Bourbon? D'abord dans les villes capitales des différents Etats de l'ensemble, villes où ces personnages accomplissent leur carrière, au sein des différentes juridictions et Chambres des Comptes: les trois collégiales Notre-Dame de Villefranche-sur-Saône, Montbrison et Moulins sont, respectivement pour les officiers caladois, foréziens et bourbonnais, les églises les plus recherchées pour leurs sépultures et les fondations de chapelles, encore que les plus grands officiers aient souvent choisi Souvigny, établissement monastique clunisien lié depuis longtemps à la dynastie des Bourbons.<sup>62</sup> Or, ces quatre églises sont aussi des hauts lieux de l'idéologie princière des Bourbons: ainsi la collégiale Notre-Dame de l'Espérance de Montbrison et la priorale Saint-Pierre de Souvigny où foisonnent les peintures, sculptures, vitraux à thèmes dynastiques...

Mais, grâce aux officiers de la cour des Bourbon, l'art du Nord s'insinue jusque dans les campagnes. On en a vu l'exemple précoce, dès le milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans la petite seigneurie nivernaise de Ternant... Voici l'exemple du retable d'Ambierle, en Forez.<sup>63</sup> maître d'hôtel du duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon, Michel de Chaugy, originaire du Bourbonnais, fait don en 1476, à l'église Saint-Martin du prieuré clunisien d'Ambierle, d'un retable de la Passion, peint par un anonyme, manifestement flamand et influencé par Rogier van der Weyden. Le tableau a probablement été acheté aux Pays-Bas.<sup>64</sup> A Vieux, en Bourbonnais, l'église Notre-Dame, en partie des XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, recèle un tableau représentant *Saint Luc peignant la Vierge* et attribué à Colijn de Coter (1450-v. 1540), peintre anversois, actif à Bruxelles entre 1485 et 1522, et auteur, par ailleurs, des peintures de la chapelle de sa propre confrérie Saint-Luc en la collégiale d'Anvers (1493).<sup>66</sup> On mentionnera

<sup>61</sup> Matteoni, *Servir le prince*, 449.

<sup>62</sup> Allier, Moulins, chef-lieu de canton.

<sup>63</sup> Loire, Roanne, Saint-Haon. Le prieuré exerçait son droit de présentation dans une dizaine de cures dans la région de St.-Haon.

<sup>64</sup> Cassagnes-Brouquet, *D'or et d'argent*, 1902.

<sup>65</sup> Allier, Moulins, Bourbon-l'Archambault.

<sup>66</sup> On sait que Colijn de Coter a exporté ses œuvres jusqu'en Suède et en Sicile. Ses autres œuvres identifiées sont le *Retable de la Trinité et des trois Maries en pleurs* (Louvre); *La Vierge couronnée par les anges* (Düsseldorf); *La Descente de Croix* du Musée régional de Messine. On attribue aussi à son atelier une partie du retable d l'église St.-Nicolas d'Orsoy (cne. de Rheinberg, Allemagne, Rhénanie du Nord-Westphalie, Düsseldorf, Wesen) et une *Adoration des mages* du Musée des Beaux Arts de Gand. Le thème de saint Luc peignant la Vierge avait été précédemment illustré par Roger van der Weyden vers 1435–40 (pour sa confrérie St.-Luc des peintres de Bruxelles: Boston,

enfin, dans le domaine de la sculpture, la descente de croix flamande (datée de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) d'Autry-Issard,<sup>67</sup> ancienne châellenie bourbonnaise, nantie d'un prieuré dépendant de Souvigny, croix déposée aujourd'hui au musée Anne de Beaujeu, à Moulins.

De l'influence du Nord, sous la houlette des ducs de Bourbon, mais en collaboration avec la bourgeoisie locale, témoigne enfin la construction du "Jacquemart" de Moulins. Dès avant 1400, Moulins compte deux tours à horloges: celle de la Halle et celle de la Geneste. La tour du Jacquemart est achevée en 1408; la grosse cloche est fondue et mise en place en 1452.<sup>68</sup> Les travaux s'achèvent en 1455 avec la mise en place du système mécanique. Le duc Jean II avait levé un impôt spécial "pour le fait de l'horloge" que devaient payer les habitants de la ville, de ses faubourgs et des villages voisins, Avermes et Yzeure sur la rive droite, mais aussi Coulandon, à 6 km à l'Ouest, et Bressolles à 4,5 km au Sud, sur la rive opposée.<sup>69</sup>

Le Jacquemart de Moulins présente une horloge surmontée du soleil et de la lune. Le père Jacquemart sonne les heures, la mère (Jacquette) les demi-heures et les enfants (Jacquelin et Jacqueline) les quarts: les noms sont "nordiques" (on rencontre trois Jacquemart parmi les serviteurs de la comtesse Mahaut d'Artois dès le tournant des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles; Jacqueline est également un nom qui se rencontre tôt dans le Nord)<sup>70</sup> mais la question demeure de savoir quand ces noms ont été attribués aux personnages du beffroi moulinois. Dès le début, il semble qu'au moins une figurine de sonneur, en fer, avec marteau, ait été présente dans le "décor actif" de l'horloge primitive; les autres ont-ils été rajoutés (ou simplement "baptisés"?) après l'incendie urbain de 1655? De fait, si le Jacquemart de l'église collégiale Notre-Dame de Dijon a été ramené de Courtrai en 1383 sur l'ordre du duc Philippe le Hardi, l'appellation "Jacquemart" n'apparaît dans les sources dijonnaises qu'à partir de 1458; en 1651, les édiles dijonnais font ajouter le personnage féminin symétrique de Jacqueline; Jacquelet est ajouté en un peu après 1714 et Jacquelette seulement en 1884 (avec la même répartition de rôles qu'à Moulins).<sup>71</sup>

Le Jacquemart n'est pas le seul témoignage de la bonne entente entre Jean II et les édiles moulinois: encore simple comte de Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, Jean, désireux

Museum of Arts) et auparavant par Rober Campin, le maître de Rogier (*cf.* Cassagnes-Brouquet, *op. cit.*, illustration de la page de couverture et p. 101).

<sup>67</sup> Allier, Moulins, Souvigny.

<sup>68</sup> Archives communales de Moulins, cahiers 271 et 274. La cloche du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle a été remplacée au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>69</sup> Faure, Histoire de Moulins, t. II, 557.

<sup>70</sup> *Cf.* aussi l'enlumineur Jacquemart de Hesdin fin XIV<sup>e</sup> et début XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: connu de 1384 à 1410-1, il travaille dans l'entourage du duc Jean de Berry, pour lequel il réalise les *Très belles heures* (v. 1402); les *Grandes heures* (v. 1409) et, peut-être, les *Petites Heures*.

<sup>71</sup> Picard, Etienne, „Le Jacquemart de l'église Notre-Dame de Dijon”, = *Revue de Bourgogne*, 1931, 77-82.

d'augmenter l'importance de Moulins, la capitale de son père, fait dresser des plans des travaux à réaliser et en remercié par les consuls par un repas offert à lui-même et à ses officiers.<sup>72</sup>

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Pour conclure:

L'Italie a déjà été un peu évoquée vers la fin de mon propos.<sup>73</sup> Nous voici désormais dans le Nord de l'Auvergne, à Aigueperse,<sup>74</sup> au début des années 90 du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: à l'invitation du comte Gilbert de Montpensier (comte de 1488 à 1496), dauphin d'Auvergne, membre d'une branche cadette des Bourbons et époux de Claire de Gonzague, le peintre Florentin Benedetto Ghirlandaio (1458–1497) réalise une *Nativité* qui offre la synthèse de ce que j'avance dans les pages précédentes:

Derrière la crèche, deux personnages observent la scène: leur disposition est la même que dans les tableaux de Van der Goes... A l'arrière-plan, le florentin Ghirlandaio a repris une des caractéristiques de l'art du Nord depuis Robert Campin, au tournant des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles: la substitution aux fonds dorés byzantinisants des icônes propres au premier art pictural médiéval italien, de la figuration de verdoyants paysages de montagnes, actualisant ainsi et dépaysant hors de Terre sainte – afin des les ancrer dans les réalités géographiques de l'Europe occidentale et dans les temps alors contemporains – les scènes de l'histoire sainte représentées en avant-plan.

Mais, à y bien regarder, les paysages qui tapissent l'arrière-plan de la *Nativité* d'Aigueperse ne relèvent plus d'une tradition de paysages imaginaires, fantasmatiques même, des peintres flamands et des brabançons représentant d'improbables montagnes abruptes dans des tons verts et bleutés: ils nous offrent la plus ancienne représentation, assez réaliste au demeurant, de la chaîne des puys volcaniques qui sont la caractéristique du paysage de l'Auvergne centrale.

Ainsi, à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, enrichi de sa découverte des procédés nouveaux et des thématiques nouvelles naguère initiées par les peintres flamands et brabançons, un artiste venu de Florence ancre la naissance du divin enfant au cœur de la plus ancienne représentation du paysage naturel emblématique de l'Auvergne; le commanditaire est un Bourbon...

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<sup>72</sup> Archives communales de Moulins, Cahier 175, cité par Faure, *Histoire de Moulins*, t. I, 34, n. 1.

<sup>73</sup> Les échanges artistiques du Bourbonnais ne sont pas polarisés sur le seul axe double vers les Pays Bas et vers l'Italie, comme en témoignent les nombreux allers-et-retours d'artistes entre Tours et Moulins à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle; ainsi en va-t-il pour Michel Colombe (v. 1430–1512), d'origine berruyère, installé à Tours vers 1470, et qui fréquente également la cour de Moulins (cf. le catalogue de l'exposition „Tours 1500”, 2012).

<sup>74</sup> Puy-de-Dôme, Riom, chef-lieu de canton.

**KLAUS VAN EICKELS**

## **MILITARY ORDERS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR THE DEMONSTRATION OF NOBLE STATUS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES**

“Nur Häuptlinge, keine Indianer!” (“All chiefs, no Indians!”) is a common phrase in present-day German when it comes to describing hypertrophic structures of administration that give prestigious titles to their personnel, but lack the executive apparatus to fulfil the tasks for which they have originally been created.

In this sense, the commanderies of the military orders in the later Middle Ages might appear at first glance to be utterly dysfunctional structures. Houses of the Teutonic Knights in the West of the Empire were often inhabited by only one older knight bearing the prestigious title of commander, without having, in fact, any knights living under his authority. Even though the revenues of the scattered property that they administered were largely sufficient for the needs of the commander, their contribution to the overall budget of the order was often minimal.

It therefore seems legitimate to ask for what reasons the military orders maintained their network of houses in Western Europe, far away from the areas where they exercised the activities that justified their existence as privileged semi-religious institutions: struggling with Muslim pirates in the Mediterranean in the case of the Knights Hospitaller, and combatting heathen Lithuanians in the case of the Teutonic Knights.

For the history of Central Europe, the Teutonic Knights are of particular importance, and therefore the following argument will be based mainly on their documentation, even though the reasoning could as readily apply to the other military orders. When we look at the documents preserved in the archives of the several houses, and the order’s central administration, the answer to the question seems evident: The commanderies were part of a larger system, in the context of which they did have their importance. The most obvious function appearing in the archival documents was the fact that they provided attractive positions, which the grand master could award to officials who had reached the age of retirement.

Moreover, they also served as local, representative places that served as a reminder of their military order evident and visible to noblemen and urban patrician families aspiring to noble status, even though the theatre of war (where the order earned its merits) was situated far away. This visibility on the local level

was important for the order insofar as it was a crucial prerequisite for the acquisition of new donations and for the defence of old privileges that were theoretically granted in perpetuity, but had to be enforced and renegotiated by every generation anew.

One of the most important social functions that the commanderies fulfilled, however, remained invisible. The ever more restrictive rules, limiting the access to the military orders to those who could prove noble descent for several generations, made the military orders particularly attractive for noble families who felt the need to display and defend noble status. Whether urban elites or rural nobility in financial difficulties, nobody could deny the quality of being a nobleman to someone who could argue that a brother or cousin of his had been admitted to a military order as a knight.

Since the late 1950s, research on the social history of the Teutonic knights has taken notice of the high number of brothers from urban patrician families, especially in the Rhineland and Hassia.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly obvious for the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but it can be traced back to the end of the Middle Ages. In the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, Werner of Baldersheim even wrote a letter to the grand master of the order in which he complained that all the houses of the bailiwick of Coblenz were dominated by brothers from urban families who detained all the offices.<sup>2</sup>

In the Mediterranean, especially in Italy, noblemen often dwelled in cities. When Otto of Freising crossed the Alps with Frederick Barbarossa in 1154/55 he was impressed by, and marvelled about, the fact that the cities of Northern Italy had divided up the whole countryside among themselves, forcing the noblemen to live with them as part of their urban community of citizens, and not disdaining to grant the honour of knighthood to sons of merchants and craftsmen.<sup>3</sup> The situation north

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<sup>1</sup> Maschke, Erich, "Deutschordensbrüder aus dem städtischen Patriziat", In: *Preussenland und Deutscher Orden. Festschrift für Kurt Forstreuter, zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres dargebracht von seinen Freunden* (Veröffentlichungen des Göttinger Arbeitskreises 184), Würzburg, 1958, 255–271; cf. Miltzer, Klaus, "Die Aufnahme von Ritterbrüdern in den Deutschen Orden. Ausbildungsstand und Aufnahmevoraussetzungen", In: Zenon Hubert Nowak (ed.), *Das Kriegswesen der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Torun, 1991, 7–17.

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, Johannes, *Geschichte des deutschen Ritterordens in seinen 12 Balleien Deutschland*. I – II, Berlin 1857–1859, vol. 1, 348–350; cf. Eickels, Klaus van, *Die Deutschordensballei Koblenz und ihre wirtschaftliche Entwicklung im Spätmittelalter* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 52), Marburg, 1995, 53–56. The letter does not bear a date, but must have been written in the 1420ies. The original or copy of the letter used by Voigt is lost; the only known excerpt is the quotation given by Voigt.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Frisingensis – Rahewinus, *Gesta Friderici*, In: Bernhard von Simson (ed.), *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I imperatoris* (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 46), Hannover, 1912<sup>3</sup>, 116 (lib. 2, cap. 13): *Ex quo fit, ut, tota illa terra inter civitates ferme divisa, singulae ad commanendum secum diocesanos compulerint, vixque aliquis nobilis vel vir magnus tam magno ambitu inveniri queat, qui civitatis suae non sequatur imperium. Consueverunt autem singuli singula territoria ex hac comminandipotestate comitatus suos appellare. Ut etiam ad compri-*

of the Alps was obviously much different, so that “urban” and “bourgeois” could become antonyms of “noble” and “knightly”, but even here certain families of the urban upper class claimed noble status, taking pride in the title “*miles*”, seeking marriage alliances with noble families of the hinterland and showing their affiliation with the regional nobility by organizing and participating in tournaments.<sup>4</sup>

Not all of these were social climbers. In fact, the lower rural nobility and parts of the urban upper class had similar origins, since many patricians counted not only rich merchants, but also officials (*ministeriales*) of the lord of the town among their ancestors. It is therefore not surprising to find brothers from noble urban families of Cologne, Coblenz and other cities of the Rhineland already being admitted to the ranks of the order in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, however, the widespread practice of receiving brothers from urban patrician families clearly became a problem, as the statutes of the order became more restrictive of this practice. The main reason for this change seems to have been the major economic and social transformation that resulted from the “crisis of the later Middle Ages”, when climatic change and demographic decline, as well as political instability and social turmoil, fundamentally changed the framework of social interaction in many regions and cities of Europe.

The extent of the “agrarian crisis” of the later Middle Ages has been largely overstated in 20<sup>th</sup> century historiography and we should certainly refrain from believing that the lower nobility as a whole were threatened by impoverishment on a

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*mendos vicinos materia non careant, inferioris conditionis iuvenes vel quoslibet contemptibulum etiam mechanicarum artium opifices, quos caeterae gentes ab honestioribus et liberioribus studiis tamquam pestem propellunt, ad militiae cingulum vel dignitatum gradus assumere non dedignantur*; however cf. Ehlers, Joachim, *Otto von Freising – ein Intellektueller im Mittelalter. Eine Biographie*. München, 2013, 230, who points out that Otto of Freising has carefully crafted his account in order to convince his readers that the Italian cities had bad habits and that the harsh politics of Frederick I interfering with their autonomy was therefore justified.

<sup>4</sup> Zotz, Thomas, “Städtisches Rittertum und Bürgertum in Köln um 1200”, In: Lutz Fenske – Werner Rösener – Thomas Zotz – Karl Hauck – Josef Fleckenstein (eds.), *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen 1984, 609–638; Idem, “Adel in der Stadt des deutschen Spätmittelalters. Erscheinungsformen und Verhaltensweisen”, = *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 141, 1993, 22–50; Idem, “Der Stadtadel im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland und seine Erinnerungskultur”, In: Werner Rösener (ed.), *Adelige und bürgerliche Erinnerungskulturen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Formen der Erinnerung 8), Göttingen 2000, 145–161; also see below note 15; cf. also Elze, Reinhard – Fasoli, Gina (eds.), *Stadtadel und Bürgertum in den italienischen und deutschen Städten des Mittelalters* (Schriften des Italienisch-Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Trient 2), Berlin, 1991; Fleckenstein, Josef, “Vom Stadtadel im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland”, = *Zeitschrift für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 3, 1980, 1–13; Hecht, Michael, “Nobiles Urbani”. Konzeptionen von Stadtadel zwischen Diskurs und Praxis in niedersächsischen Städten der Frühen Neuzeit”, = *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 84, 2012, 176–196; Michel, Fritz, “Der Koblenzer Stadtadel im Mittelalter”, = *Mitteilungen der Westdeutschen Gesellschaft für Familienkunde* 16, 1952–1954, 1–20.

large scale in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>5</sup> Still, the rise of the urban elites and the deterioration of terms of trade for the producers of agricultural goods in the later Middle Ages put considerable strain on the lower nobility to prove its status. The lower nobility of the Empire had emerged mainly from the group of *ministeriales*, men of originally unfree legal condition who, had acquired prestige and recognition as noblemen by the aristocratic nature of their military and administrative service in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. When mercenaries increasingly replaced the feudal host in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, however, military service on horseback no longer appeared as a privilege of noblemen alone.

Noble status therefore became fragile on the lower fringe of the lesser nobility. Noble lifestyles required means, and families who felt that they could no longer compete would often turn to deficit spending in order to avoid the loss of status and honour implied in turning to active and undisguised participation in gain-seeking activities. Accordingly, marriage alliances with rich urban families of non-noble origin who sought to enhance their status by adopting a noble lifestyle often appeared as a way out of the vicious circle of living beyond one's income and the further financial restrictions brought about by increasing debt. Noble families who refrained from such infringement of the noble code of conduct sought remedy by penalizing marriages between a nobleman and a woman of non-noble origin, without calling into question the principle that noble rank and status was passed on from father to son.

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<sup>5</sup> The theory of an "agrarian crisis" in late medieval Europe has been developed by Wilhelm Abel since the 1930s; Abel, Wilhelm, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Land-Stadtproblem im Spätmittelalter* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 1976, 1), Göttingen, 1976; Idem, *Agrarkrisen und Agrarconjunktur. Eine Geschichte der Land- und Ernährungswirtschaft Mitteleuropas seit dem hohen Mittelalter*, Hamburg-Berlin, 1978<sup>3</sup>. Yet, his argument that rural landowners were experiencing impoverishment and debt distress on a large scale lacks a sufficient statistical basis, since serial data are sparse and records of accountancy are often difficult to assess when analysed out of context. One of Abel's most prominent examples (the account rendered by Klaus of Gieltsdorf, commander of Coblenz, for the years 1446–1452; Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, OBA 11646) is drawn from the archives of the Teutonic Knights, but Abel's reading of the text is based on an obvious misunderstanding; van Eickels, *Die Deutschordensballei Koblenz und ihre wirtschaftliche Entwicklung im Spätmittelalter*, 211–221 and 270–271, against Abel, Wilhelm, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Siedlungs- und Agrargeschichte Deutschlands* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte 1), Stuttgart 1976<sup>3</sup>, 136–139 and 144–146; cf. Militzer, Klaus, "Auswirkungen der spätmittelalterlichen Agrardepression auf die Deutschordensballeien", In: Udo Arnold (ed.), *Von Akkon bis Wien. Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Althochmeister Marian Tumler am 21. Oktober 1977* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 20), Marburg, 1978, 62–75; Burleigh, Michael, *Prussian society and the German Order. An aristocratic corporation in crisis (c. 1410–1466)*, Cambridge, 1984, 77–80. Moreover, we should not take at face value the terminology of poverty that parts of the lesser nobility adopted in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; Morsel, Joseph, "Adel in Armut – Armut im Adel? Beobachtungen zur Situation des Adels im Spätmittelalter", In: Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.), *Armut im Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 58), Ostfildern, 2004, 127–164.



Ecclesiastical institutions played a major role in establishing this second layer of aristocratic hierarchy that was based on genealogical descent rather than on rank and titles, which could be conferred to royal favourites or sold to rich social climbers. Noblemen who could trace back their nobility over several generations would feel distinctly more noble than a newcomer, even if the latter had acquired an equal or even higher ranking title, a divide that would formally evolve into the distinction between *noblesse de robe* and *noblesse d'épée* in early modern France.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, documentation abounds that ecclesiastical institutions of high reputation formally restricted access by requiring a “proof of ancestry” (“Ahnenprobe”) in order to emphasize their social exclusivity. A candidate had to produce a document stating that reliable testimonies had sworn to him being of noble descent for two, and later even for three or four generations, by naming four, eight or sixteen noble ancestors.<sup>6</sup>

By the end of the Middle Ages, the “proof of ancestry” was well established as a means of excluding the issue of unsuitable marriages for several generations on all scales of the hierarchy. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, the cathedral chapters of Strasbourg and Cologne insisted on pure descent from the high nobility over several generations to a point that Erasmus of Rotterdam remarked sarcastically that they would not admit even Jesus Christ himself to their ranks unless he could produce a dispensation.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Graf, Klaus, “Ahnenprobe”, In: Friedrich Jaeger (ed.), *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 2005–2012, 146–148; cf. Harding, Elizabeth, “Adelsprobe”, In: *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns* (2013), [http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel\_45028 – December 18, 2014]; Harding Elizabeth – Hecht, Michael (eds.), *Die Ahnenprobe in der Vormoderne. Selektion Initiation Repräsentation* (Symbolische Kommunikation und Gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme 37), Münster, 2011; as to the flexibility of genealogical construction even in the later Middle Ages cf. Spieß, Karl-Heinz, *Familie und Verwandtschaft im deutschen Hochadel des Spätmittelalters* (13. bis Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts) (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Beihefte 111), Stuttgart, 1993; Brandt, Hartwin – Köhler, Katrin – Siewert, Ulrike (eds.), *Genealogisches Bewusstsein als Legitimation. Inter- und intragenerationelle Auseinandersetzungen sowie die Bedeutung von Verwandtschaft bei Amtswechseln* (Bamberger historische Studien 4), Bamberg, 2009. – As to the concept of “social closure” in sociological research cf. Murphy, Raymond, *Social closure. The theory of monopolization and exclusion*, Oxford, 1988; Mackert, Jürgen, *Die Theorie sozialer Schließung. Tradition – Analysen – Perspektiven*, Wiesbaden, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Zimmern, Froben Christoph Graf von, *Zimmerische Chronik*, ed. Karl August Barack, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1881–1882, vol. 3, 129: *Es ist der gebrauch, das kainer zu ainem canonico in solchis collegium wurt zugelassen, er seie dann ain gebornner fürst, graff oder freiherr; zu dem muß er geschrifftlichen und under zwaier fürsten und zwaier grafen insigln beweisen vierzeh anichen vom vatter und vierzeh von der muetter, die alle fürsten, grafen oder freiherrn seien gewesen, und da er an ainicher ainen person, die münder stands were, felen sollt, so würde er zu der possess nit zugelassen. Das wurt noch diser zeit ganz steif von inen gehalten und ist in iren statuten nit das wenigest, darauf sie alle loben und ain leiblichen aide schweren müessen. Es mag für ein turnier gehalten werden, dieweil der ander sonst abgangen, darin ain ieder*

Such limitation to the higher nobility was rare. Social closure that included the lower nobility of the region (“Stiftsadel”), however, was practised along the same lines by many other cathedral chapters, especially in the Rhineland and Westfalia.<sup>8</sup>

At this point, the social importance of the military orders becomes evident. From the beginning, they had evolved as institutions dominated by the lesser nobility. Even the highest positions were accessible to simple knights of relatively modest extraction. By the end of the Middle Ages the Teutonic Knights explicitly defined their order as the “hospital of the poor (i.e., lesser) nobility of the German Nation” (*des armen Adels Spital deutscher Nation*).<sup>9</sup> Situated precisely on the border between nobility and non-noble urban elites, the military orders developed a complex system of admission that allowed them to maintain their reputation as a selective institution that could prove beyond doubt the noble quality of a knight brother, while continuing to admit sons of non-noble patrician families in order to strengthen the network of interpersonal relationships, upon which the well-being of their urban commanderies relied.

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*sein standt und herkommen erweisen müßen. Man sagt, es sei der Erasmus Roterodamus uf ein zeit geen Straßburg kommen, hat man ime als ein fürnemen, berüemten man alles, so namhaft in der statt, besichtigen lassen. Under andern aber ist er in das capitelhaus und den bruederhof geführt worden und bericht aller gelegenheit und gebrauch der domherren und das auch nit ain ieder fürst, graf oder herr, der seins herkommens nit, insonderhait wie dann hieben darvon gemeldet, qualifiziert, angenommen werdt, so soll er in schimpfweis gesagt haben, Christus het (in) das collegium, da sie nit dispensirt, nit angenommen werden megen.*

<sup>8</sup> Graf, Ahnenprobe (see note 6).

<sup>9</sup> Grünbach, Andreas von, Schreiben des [Deutschmeisters] (*Endris von Grumbach, Meister-deutschordens in deutschen und welschen Landen*) an Herzog Albrecht [IV. von Bayern] (Horneck, 19.10.1491). Anhang zum Jahrgang 1492, In: Franz von Krenner (ed.), *Baierische Landtags-Handlungen in den Jahren 1429 bis 1513*. 9. Band: Oberländische Landtage im Münchener Landantheile 1489–1505, München 1804, 182–184: *Mir und meinem Orden, als des armen Adels Spital deutscher Nation, begegnet etwas unleidentlichen und schweren Einbruchs vom römischen Stuhle ...* (p. 182); as to the terminology of poverty in late medieval noble discourse cf. Morsel, Adel in Armut – Armut im Adel? Beobachtungen zur Situation des Adels im Spätmittelalter (see note 5). – The Teutonic Knights were perceived accordingly by the general public, so that Sebastian Franck could base his criticism of the military orders on this self-denomination: *Nun merck im anfang war der Ord yederman frey, und ein Spital der armen genant, ytz hat der Adel die armen außgebissen, die gesunden die krancken, die reichen die armen, also daß es nun nit mer der armen, sundern deß Adels spital, nymmer Brüder, sund Teütsch herin und ritter brüder, genent werden. Darzuo ist er so gar nyemand mer frey, daß auch der Adel darumb muß bitten, die andern alle seind außgeschlossen und außbissen, deren keinen man mer darein nimpt, weder bürger, pfaffen noch leyen, ich geschweig eeelüt. Also ist diser spitall kummen von armen, krancken, lamen, dürfftigen (den man alles geben und vermeint hat, da sie an die spital gsamlet haben, und nicht den reichen, jungen, stolzen leüten) biß auf den muotwilligen adel;* Franck, Sebastian, *Chronica, Zeytbuch und geschychtbibel von anbegyn biß inn diß gegenwertig 1531 jar. Darin beide Gottes und der welt lauff hendel art wort werck thun lassen krieges wesen und leben ersehen und begriffen wirt*, Straßburg 1531, f. 473v.

In his letter from the 1420s, Werner of Baldersheim refers to the brothers whom he attacks as “greymantlers”. He thereby refers to the three categories of brothers that were considered full members of the order:

knights – lay brothers of noble origin  
 greymantlers – lay brothers of non-noble origin  
 priests – brothers of clerical status.

Obviously the knight brothers, distinguished by their white mantle, had the highest rank. Yet the greymantlers and priest brothers were by no means excluded from decision-making and leading positions. The statutes of the order provided that a new grand master be elected by a committee of eight knight brothers, four greymantlers and one priest brother, and the Prussian Annals of Thorun attest that this ruling was still followed when Conrad Zöllner of Rotenstein was elected in 1382.<sup>10</sup> The letter of Walter of Baldersheim from the 1420s shows that even a whole urban commandery of such wealth and importance as Cologne could be entirely run by greymantlers alone.<sup>11</sup> Obviously, being a greymantler or priest brother of non-noble origin did not hinder the career of individual brothers, especially in the western Empire.

Nonetheless, the distinction between greymantlers and knight brothers endowed with the white mantle remained important. The origin of greymantlers can be traced back to the “sergeants” (*sarjant brothers*) mentioned in the early customs of the order. In the early decades of the order, they probably differed from the knight brothers in equipment and tasks in combat, but by the 14<sup>th</sup> century this functional distinction had clearly given way to a differentiation along the lines of social background and origin.<sup>12</sup>

From the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the statutes increasingly stress that only men of noble birth should be admitted as knight brothers. As early as ca. 1340, an addition to the statutes of the Teutonic Knights issued by Dietrich of Altenburg (1335–1341) stated: “We order that from now on no brother shall be given the white mantle unless he is worthy of it, well born to it.” (2. *Ven eisten setten wi, dat men vortme engheinen bruder den witten mantel en geve, he en sijs werdich end wael dartou geboren. / 2. Ouch setzen wir, daz man vurbaz mê keynem bruder den wîzen mantel gebe, er ensie is wirdig und wol dûzu geboren*).<sup>13</sup>

In 1441, grand master Konrad of Ehrlichshausen repeated the ruling and stated more precisely: “We order that, from now on, neither the grand master nor anyone

<sup>10</sup> Jähnig, Bernhart, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 16), Berlin, 2011, 130.

<sup>11</sup> See above, note 2.

<sup>12</sup> Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens* (see note 10), 130 (note 360).

<sup>13</sup> *Gesetze Dietrichs von Altenburg (1335–1341)*, In: Max Perlbach (ed.), *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, Halle an der Saale, 1890, 149–151, here 149.

on his behalf shall receive anyone into the order unless he is born from good knighthood and can prove four ancestors, except priest brothers and greymantlers, according to the needs of the house and office.” (5. *Item das ken meister nach ny-mand von seynent wegen keynen vordmeh czu dem orden sulle emphoen, her sei denne von gutter ritterschafft geboren und moge seyne vier anen beweisen, wsgenomen priesterbruder und gromentler nach notdurfft des hawzes und amptes*).<sup>14</sup>

Admitting candidates from a non-noble urban background indiscriminately would have called into question the reputation of the Teutonic Knights as a noble institution; excluding them might have impaired the social network that guaranteed the survival of the order's urban commanderies. Carefully restricting admission as a knight brother to candidates whose noble extraction was beyond doubt, while also offering far-reaching career options to those admitted as greymantlers, was an obvious solution. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, proving noble status became increasingly important. Knights from urban families, even if they had been knighted by the emperor himself on the bridge of the Tiber after his coronation, faced exclusion from tournaments organized by the rural nobility. Claims that one or several of their relatives had been admitted to a selective ecclesiastical institution was one of the most convincing arguments when it came to averting such a disgrace.<sup>15</sup> Distinguishing between knights, greymantlers and priests gave the order a certain flexibility to admit (within reason) brothers from the urban upper class. If the family seemed sufficiently noble, they could be admitted as knights and thus enhance the reputation of other family members. In the case of obviously non-noble urban origin, they could nonetheless be admitted as greymantlers.

Over the centuries, the Hospitallers took the lead and pointed the way, which the Teutonic knights had to follow if they did not want to jeopardize their reputation of being selective to a degree that met the evermore rigid socially accepted standards of genealogically defined full noble status. They formally required four proven ancestors of noble status already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a step formally adopted by the Teutonic Knights only in 1441. The German tongue of the Hospitallers decided in 1631 that they would henceforth require sixteen proven ancestors, while the Teutonic Knights gradually passed from four (1441, confirmed by imperial decree in 1567) to eight proven ancestors in 1606 and sixteen proven ancestors in 1671.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Gesetze des Hochmeisters Konrad von Ehrlichshausen (1441 April 28), In: Hermann Hildebrand (ed.), *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*. Band 9: 1426–1443, Riga, 1889, 501–505, Nr. 716.

<sup>15</sup> Zotz, Thomas, “Adel, Bürgertum und Turniere in deutschen Städten vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert”, In: Josef Fleckenstein, *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, Göttingen 1985, 450–499, here: 435 and 496–498.

<sup>16</sup> Harding, Adelsprobe (see note 6): Hospitallers 14th century and 1631; Graf, Ahnenprobe (see note 6): Teutonic Knights 1606 and 1671. As to the Teutonic Knights in 1441 see above note 14.

**PATRIZIAT IN DEN HANSESTÄDTEN  
IM SPÄTMITTELALTER:  
SOZIALE MOBILITÄT UND IDENTITÄT<sup>1</sup>**

Die Führungsgruppen in Hansestädten sind schon seit langem als Forschungsgegenstand erkannt und in einer Reihe von Studien mit unterschiedlichen methodischen Ansätzen untersucht worden. Die ältere Forschung war sehr stark durch das Verständnis vom Patriziat als einem besonderen "Stand" geprägt, der durch eine förmliche Verbindung der Personen (Geschlechter), besondere Lebensformen und die Nachahmung ritterlicher Gewohnheiten sowie durch die vorherrschende Stellung der Patrizier-Geschlechter in der politischen Führung der Stadt seine soziale Exklusivität erlangte.<sup>2</sup> Die kulturgeschichtliche Wende in der Geschichtswissenschaft führte dann zu einer Verschiebung der Schwerpunkte bei der Erforschung der Führungsgruppen. Anstatt also den Fragen nach der Existenz eines Patriziats in den Hansestädten nachzugehen, begannen die Forscher die Prozesse der Gruppenbildung und die Kriterien für den sozialen Aufstieg zu erforschen.<sup>3</sup>

Die hier vorgestellte Untersuchung beschränkt sich auf die Zeit vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts fand der Prozess der Ausbildung der Ratsverfassung in den Ostseestädten seinen Abschluss. Dadurch erlangte die kaufmännische Führungsgruppe einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf das Stadtreglement und auf die soziale Zusammensetzung der

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<sup>1</sup> Für die freundliche Hilfe bei der Vorbereitung der deutschen Fassung dieses Textes bedanke ich mich bei Prof. Dr. Marie-Luise Heckmann.

<sup>2</sup> Wehrmann, Carl F., „Das lübeckische Patriziat, insbesondere dessen Entstehung und Verhältnis zum Adel“, = *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 3, 1872, 92–135; Ders., „Das Lübeckische Patriziat“, = *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 5, 1888, 293–392.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, Gunnar, 'Besitzende Bürger' und 'elende Sieche': *Lübeck's Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400-1449* (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck 48). Lübeck, 2009. 187, 198; Rüther, Stefanie, *Prestige und Herrschaft. Zur Repräsentation der Lübecker Ratsherren in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2003. 8; Hecht, Michael, *Patriziatsbildung als kommunikativer Prozess: die Salzstädte Lüneburg, Halle und Werl in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Köln–Weimar–Wien 2010. 6 nn.

Stadträte.<sup>4</sup> Die Reformation führte dann zu veränderten Bedingungen für das Funktionieren des städtischen Patriziats. Im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung stehen die Verhältnisse in den wendischen, preußischen und livländischen Städten.

Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrages ist es, die Frage zu beantworten, ob in den großen Hansestädten sich von der breiten kaufmännischen Schicht eine separate regierende Gruppe abgesondert hat, die sich durch eine eigene Identität sowie spezifische Normen zur Regelung ihres Innenlebens auszeichnete. Außerdem soll geklärt werden, inwieweit man von einem für die Hanse charakteristischen Typus der Führungsgruppe sprechen kann und inwieweit diese Erscheinung durch regionale oder gar lokale Verhältnisse mitgestaltet wurde.

Die nachfolgende Analyse wendet sich im ersten Schritt der Frage nach der sozialen Mobilität der Führungsgruppen und ihrer zeitgenössischen Wahrnehmung zu, ehe sie im zweiten Schritt die Rolle von den Bruderschaften für die soziale Sonderstellung der Führungsgruppen thematisiert. In einem dritten und letzten Schritt wird die Formung der Führungsgruppe auf der Basis der Ratsgremien dargestellt. Ein kurzes Fazit führt schließlich die Ergebnisse zusammen.

## I. STATISTISCHE ANALYSE

Die Frage nach der sozialen Zusammensetzung besaß für die Forschung zum Patriziat bzw. zu Führungsgruppen in den Hansestädten lange Zeit grundlegende Bedeutung, weil man aufgrund der großen sozialen Mobilität der Führungsgruppen die Tragfähigkeit dieses Begriffs hinsichtlich der sozialen Verhältnisse im hansischen Wirtschaftsraum bezweifelte. Die Forscher wiesen dabei darauf hin, dass immer wieder viele „homines novi“ in die Stadträte gelangt seien.<sup>5</sup> Für die hansischen Ratsgeschlechter sei aber eine relativ kurze Verweildauer im Stadtrat im Vergleich zu den oberdeutschen Städten kennzeichnend. Diese Feststellungen lassen sich nicht nur in den älteren Arbeiten finden, sondern werden bis in die neuesten Veröffentlichungen hinein wiederholt.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Czaja, Roman, *Grupy rządzące w miastach nadbałtyckich w średniowieczu*. Toruń 2008. 27–38; Poeck, Dieter, *Rituale der Ratswahl. Zeichen und Zeremoniell der Ratssetzung in Europa (12.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2003. 177, 253.

<sup>5</sup> Wriedt, Klaus, „Zum Profil der lübischen Führungsgruppen im Spätmittelalter“, In: Antjekathrin Graßmann (Ed.), *Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck*. Lübeck, 1985. 43–45; Czaja, Roman, „Social mobility as a paradigm of research on cities in central and east-central Europe in the late Middle Ages“, In: Rosa Smurra – Hubert Houben – Manuela Ghizzoni (eds.), *The far-sighted gaze of capital cities. Essays in honour of Francesca Bocchi*. Roma, 2014. 250–252.

<sup>6</sup> Isenmann, Eberhard, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter 1150–1550, Stadtgestalt, Recht, Verfassung, Stadtrecht, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*. Wien–Köln–Weimar, 2012. 773; Militzer, Klaus, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VI. München, 1993. 1797–1799.

Die vorliegende Analyse der sozialen Zusammensetzung ausgewählter Stadträte in den wendischen (Lübeck, Wismar), preußischen (Thorn, Kulm, Elbing, Danzig, Königsberg) und livländischen Städten (Riga, Reval) soll zeigen, in welchem Ausmaß sich eine Tendenz zur personellen Abschließung der Führungsgruppen in den Ostseestädten abzeichnet. Für die statistische Untersuchung, der die Angehörigen der Stadträte aus bestimmten Jahren unterzogen wurden, wurden folgende Gradmesser sozialer Mobilität berücksichtigt:

- Anteil der Ratsherren, die erstmalig als Angehörige ihrer Familien in den Rat gelangt sind, darunter auch Ratsherren aus Familien, die nur einen Vertreter im Rat haben;
- Anteil der Ratsherren aus Familien, die bereits (zwei, drei, vier oder mehr) Ratsmitglieder gestellt haben;
- Anteil der Ratsherren aus Familien, die auch in Zukunft durch ein, zwei oder mehr Mitglieder im Rat vertreten sind.<sup>7</sup>

Aus der statistischen Analyse ergibt sich ein sehr differenziertes Bild der sozialen Zusammensetzung der Stadträte in den Hansestädten. Eine Tendenz zur gesellschaftlichen Abschließung und zur abnehmenden sozialen Mobilität lässt sich in preußischen Städten (Kulm, Elbing, Thorn) sowie in Lübeck feststellen. Die Intensität und der zeitliche Verlauf dieser Erscheinung gestalteten sich jedoch durchaus unterschiedlich. In der Rechtstadt Danzig, in der Altstadt Königsberg, in Reval, Riga und Wismar ist eine deutliche Tendenz zur sozialen Abschließung der Führungsgruppen und zur Etablierung eines oligarchischen Rates unverkennbar. Auftretende Unterschiede in der Zusammensetzung der Räte der untersuchten Städte kann man durch Differenzen in der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung erklären.<sup>8</sup> Man sollte jedoch betonen, dass eine ausschließlich auf Familiennamen bezogene statistische Analyse in der Regel ein überzeichnetes Bild der sozialen Veränderungen innerhalb der Führungsgruppe liefert, weil sie die Verschwägerung der Ratsfamilien und die sozialen Netzwerkverbindungen nicht berücksichtigt.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Eine Besprechung der Methode und der Quellen siehe: Czaja, Roman, „Die soziale Mobilität des Patriziats in den preußischen Hansestädten im Mittelalter“, In: Udo Arnold – Mario Glauert – Jürgen Sarnowsky (eds.), *Preußische Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Bernhart Jähniß zum 60. Geburtstag*. Marburg, 2001. 314–315.

<sup>8</sup> Czaja, Roman, „Das Patriziat in den livländischen und preußischen Städten eine vergleichende Analyse“, In: Ilgvars Misans – Horst Wernicke, *Riga und der Ostseeraum. Von der Gründung 1201 bis in die Frühe Neuzeit*. Marburg, 2005. 211–223.

<sup>9</sup> Koeppen, Hans, *Führende Stralsunder Ratsfamilien vom Ausgang des 13. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Greifswalder Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 10). Greifswald, 1938. 15–18; Römer, Hans-Ulrich, „Das Rostocker Patriziat“, = *Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher* 96, 1932, 20–22; Wegemann, Georg, „Die führenden Geschlechter Lübecks und ihre Verschwägerungen“, =

## II. SOZIALGESCHICHTLICHE BEOBACHTUNGEN

Die statistische Erfassung der personellen Zusammensetzung der Stadträte erbringt somit keine erschöpfende Erklärung des Prozesses der Herausbildung einer von einer breiten kaufmännischen Schicht abgesonderten Führungsgruppe. Für das Verständnis der Stellung der sozialen Gruppen in der mittelalterlichen Stadt erscheint es deshalb als sinnvoll, die zeitgenössischen Vorstellungen zu berücksichtigen.<sup>10</sup> An der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert lässt sich nämlich im Ordensland eine Wahrnehmung der Führungsgruppen als eines sozial abgesonderten und in sich geschlossenen Familienverbands, der durch eine oligarchische Struktur gekennzeichnet war, erkennen. So beschwerten sich um 1400 die Einwohner der Stadt Kulm beim Hochmeister über ihren Stadtrat. Zu Beginn des Schreibens liefern sie eine kritische Bewertung der Führungsgruppe, welche die Stadt gleichsam als ihr persönliches Eigentum behandle und dadurch vernichte. Die Ratssitze würden an Kinder und Verwandte weiter gegeben, und jedes Mal, wenn jemand in den Rat gewählt wird, betrachte dieses sein Amt als Besitz auf Lebenszeit.<sup>11</sup> Auch aus einem etwas jüngeren Brief des Danziger Komturs an den Hochmeister werden ähnliche Züge innerhalb der Führungsgruppe sichtbar. Hier findet sich mit Blick auf die Rats- und Schöffenwahl vom 22. Februar 1410 der Passus, „das eyner dem andern syne styme gipt, also das yderman den seynen kuse(s)t, eyn frunt den andern und eyn swoger den andern und wullen der unsern keynen dorynne haben und haldens under sich“.<sup>12</sup>

Das Bild von der oligarchischen Struktur der Führungsgruppen war zudem keine Besonderheit der preußischen Städte. Vergleichbare Tendenzen lassen sich nämlich auch in der Überlieferung zu den Ratsgremien in den wendischen Städten finden. In einer Beschwerdeschrift der Lübecker Bürger aus dem Jahre 1406

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*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 31, 1949, 17–52; Lutterbeck, Michael, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. Politische, personale und wirtschaftliche Zusammenhänge in einer städtischen Führungsgruppe*. Lübeck 2002. 86 nn.

<sup>10</sup> Oexle, Otto Gerhard, „Soziale Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft: Lebensformen des Mittelalters und ihre historischen Wirkungen“, In: Ders., Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (eds.), *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte – Bilder – Objekte*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte 141). Göttingen, 1998. 40 nn.

<sup>11</sup> Czaja, Roman, „Spór cechów chełmińskich z radą miejską. Przyczynę do konfliktów społecznych w miastach pruskich w średniowieczu“, In: Andrzej Radziński – Janusz Tandecki (eds.), *Prusy – Polska – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowoczesnych*. Toruń, 1999. 327–338; Ders., „Das Patriziat in den preußischen Städten. Ein Beitrag zur Wahrnehmung der sozialen Gruppen in den Hansestädten im Mittelalter“, In: Ders., (ed.) *Das Bild und die Wahrnehmung der Stadt und der städtischen Gesellschaft im Hanseraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Toruń, 2004. 174.

<sup>12</sup> *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*. Eds. Th. Hirsch – M. Toeppen – E. Strehle, Bd. 4. Leipzig, 1870. 396, Anm. 4.



wird unter anderem auf einen engen Personenkreis hingewiesen, der über die wesentlichen Angelegenheiten der Stadt entschied.<sup>13</sup> Auch die Bürgeropposition in Wismar nahm am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts den Rat als eine durch familiäre Verknüpfungen und Geschäftsverhältnisse gekennzeichnete Gruppe wahr. Hierzu heißt es: Ock wolde ein radt, wanner szie keszen, nicht ansehen fruntschup, mageschupp, swagersschup edder jennige andere thodaeth”.<sup>14</sup> Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass die Vorstellung über den Danziger, den Kulmer und den Wismarer Rat als je einer oligarchischen Gruppe keine Bestätigung in der statistischen erfassbaren Wirklichkeit findet. Diese war nämlich durch eine deutliche Mobilität geprägt (Tab. 1). Die oben zitierten Belege weisen jedoch auch auf einen Faktor des sozialen Aufstiegs hin, der schwer definierbar und in den Quellen kaum zu erfassen ist – gemeint ist damit die soziale Akzeptanz. Selbst wenn scheinbar alle Voraussetzungen dafür gegeben waren, lief nämlich der gesellschaftliche Aufstieg weder rein mechanisch noch nach einem zwangsläufigen Muster ab.<sup>15</sup>

Die zweite Eigenschaft der Führungsgruppe, die in den Quellen zur Wahrnehmung sozialer Führungsgruppen zum Ausdruck kommt, ist die so genannte „Alteingesessenheit“ der Ratsgeschlechter.<sup>16</sup> In der Detmar-Chronik ist beispielsweise eine Nachricht aus dem Jahre 1387 über den Tod des Bischofs Johann Klendenst und die Wahl seines Nachfolgers Evert von Attendorn überliefert. Beide Bischöfe werden vom Chronisten in beinahe gleichlautender Weise charakterisiert, wodurch ihre soziale Stellung besonders hervorgehoben werden sollte. Die beiden Einträge lauten: „He was geboren in der stad to Lubeke van gudem olden slechte“ (Klendenst) bzw. „He was gheborn in der Stadt to Lubeke

<sup>13</sup> „Antwort des rathes auf die Beschwerdeschrift und die beiden Rollen der Bürger“, in *Detmar-Chronik*, In: *Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte: Lübeck II*. Ed. K. Koppmann (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 26). Leipzig, 1899. 396. „Vortmer als gy schreven. Item so dunket uns woll, dat ofte 6 personen der stat rente unde gulde allene handeln unde ok dat regiment dat meste part allene hebben in dem rade“.

<sup>14</sup> Crull, Friedrich, *Die Rathslinie der Stadt Wismar*. Halle, 1875. XXI.

<sup>15</sup> Fouquet, Gerhard, „Städtische Lebensformen im Spätmittelalter. Neue Perspektiven und neue Forschung“, = *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte* 22, 2003, 38; Andermann, Kurt, „Zunft und Patriziat. Beobachtungen zur sozialen Mobilität in oberdeutschen Städten des späten Mittelalters“, In: Kurt Andermann – Peter Johanek (eds.), *Zwischen Nicht-Adel und Adel* (Vorträge und Forschungen 53). Stuttgart, 2001. 368.

<sup>16</sup> Hiestand, Rudolf, „Civis Romanus sum“. Zum Selbstverständnis bürgerlicher Führungsschichten in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten“, In: Peter Wunderli (ed.), *Herkunft und Ursprung. Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation*. Sigmaringen, 1994. 91–110; Heckmann, Marie-Luise, „Ursprungsgedenken und Autonomie: Die Rückbesinnung auf die eigenen Anfänge in stauferzeitlich gegründeten Städten“, In: Franz J. Felten (ed.), *Ein gefüllter Willkommen: Festschrift für Knut Schulz zum 65. Geburtstag*. Aachen, 2002. 205 nn; Fouquet, Gerhard, „Stadt-Adel. Chancen und Risiken sozialer Mobilität im späten Mittelalter“, In: Günther Schulz (ed.), *Sozialer Aufstieg. Funktionseliten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. München, 2002. 180.

van olden slechte unde erlik" (Attendorn).<sup>17</sup> Diese Beobachtung stimmt übrigens mit der tatsächlichen Herkunft dieser Familien überein. Die Vorstellung von der Alteingesessenheit wird nämlich auch in Quellen aus dem Ordensland zum Ausdruck gebracht. In der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts bildete sich somit eine Tradition heraus, in welcher die Teilnahme der patrizischen Geschlechter am Kampf gegen die heidnischen Prußen und am Aufbau der Territorialherrschaft besonders betont wird. Im Vergleich zu Lübeck taucht die Alteingesessenheit als ein Element der Führungsgruppe im Ordensland allerdings etwas später auf und bezieht sich nicht mehr auf einzelne Geschlechter, sondern auf die ganze Führungsgruppe.<sup>18</sup>

Nach der älteren Fachliteratur gehörten die exklusiven Bruderschaften zu den unentbehrlichen Faktoren zur Charakteristik von sozialen Führungsgruppen (also des so genannten Patriziats). „Es war jedoch dieses Patriciat in Riga nie so geschlossener und exklusiver Natur, dass die herrschenden Geschlechter schroff und drückend dem übrigen Theil der Einwohnerschaft gegenüber gestanden hätten. Solche patricische Innungen und Genossenschaften, wie sie in den meisten deutschen Städten, namentlich auch in dem nahe verwandten Lübeck, bestanden, fanden sich hier zu keiner Zeit vor".<sup>19</sup> Die neuere Forschung zu den Bruderschaften der städtischen Oberschicht in Lübeck weist jedoch darauf hin, dass die Zirkel-Gesellschaft nicht als dauerhafte Form für die Organisation der lokalen Führungsschicht angesehen werden kann. Auch die Lübecker Kaufleute-Kompanie und die Gerveraden-Kompanie vermochten es nicht, ihren politischen und sozialen Status in der Organisation der Lübecker Führungsgruppe auf Dauer aufrechtzuerhalten. Nur zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt ihrer Entwicklung wurde die soziale Zusammensetzung der genannten Bruderschaften derjenigen der Lübecker Führungsgruppe insgesamt sehr ähnlich.<sup>20</sup> Schaut man vergleichend in die süd-deutschen Städte, so wich die Entstehung der Lübecker Bruderschaften von der

<sup>17</sup> *Detmar-Chronik*, 1899, 19, 20; Fehling, Emil F., *Lübeckische Ratslinie von den Anfängen der Stadt bis auf die Gegenwart*. Lübeck, 1923. 175 n.

<sup>18</sup> Czaja, Roman, "Die Identität des Patriziats der preußischen Großstädte im Mittelalter", In: Stefan Kwiatkowski – Janusz Małek (eds.), *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Toruń, 1998. 14 nn; Selzer, Stephan, *Artushöfe im Ostseeraum. Ritterlich-höfische Kultur in den Städten des Preußenlandes im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt a.M., 1998. 129.

<sup>19</sup> Böthführer, Heinrich J, *Die rigische Ratslinie von 1226 bis 1876*. Riga, 1877. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Dünnebeil, Sonja, *Die Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft. Formen der Selbstdarstellung einer städtischen Oberschicht*. Lübeck, 1996. 127; dies., „Die drei großen Kompanien als genossenschaftliche Verbindungen der Lübecker Oberschicht“, In: Nils Jörn (ed.), *Genossenschaftliche Strukturen in der Hanse*. Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1999. 205–222; Graßmann, Antjekathrin, „Die Gerveradenkompanie. Zu den führenden Kaufleutegesellschaften in Lübeck um die Wende zum 16. Jahrhundert“, In: Stuart Jenks – Michael North (eds.), *Der Hansische Sonderweg? Beiträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse*. Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1993. 109–134.

Entwicklung der dortigen Patrizierbruderschaften ab, denn weder die Zirkel-Gesellschaft noch die Lübecker Kaufleute-Kompanie oder die Gervaden-Kompanie erwuchs nicht aus dem Streben der Führungsgruppe nach Selbstdarstellung und Integration. Ihre Genese hing vielmehr mit den Bemühungen der nicht zum Stadtrat gehörenden Kaufleute um Integration und um Stärkung der eigenen politischen Position innerhalb der breiten kaufmännischen Schicht zusammen.

Eine grobe Vereinfachung wäre auch die Feststellung, dass die Kompenhäuser (Artushöfe) in den preußischen Städten vom Anfang an einen sozial elitären Charakter besessen hätten. Die bisherige Bewertung ihrer sozialen Rolle hat sich nämlich zu stark durch die Optik der Quellen aus der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts und aus der Neuzeit beeinflussen lassen.<sup>21</sup> Die soziale Funktion der Artushöfe und der mit ihnen verbundenen Bruderschaften unterlag vielmehr wesentlichen Wandlungen und war zudem von besonderen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen am jeweiligen Ort und zur jeweiligen Zeit abhängig.<sup>22</sup> Die Artushöfe entstanden um die Wende zum 14. Jahrhundert in preußischen Großstädten zunächst als Sitze der Gilde „der gemenen kouffman“ und wurden als solche auch noch in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts wahrgenommen.<sup>23</sup> Bereits im Laufe des 14. Jahrhunderts hatten die Stadträte die Kontrolle über deren innere Organisation übernommen. Gleichzeitig begann sich innerhalb der zunächst einheitlichen Kaufmannsschicht der Prozess der sozialen Ausdifferenzierung abzuzeichnen, und die mit der Führungsgruppe verbundenen Kaufleute gewannen allmählich eine privilegierte Position in den Artushöfen.<sup>24</sup> Man sollte zudem die Artushöfe nicht ausschließlich als Institutionen zur Demonstration sozialer Exklusivität durch die im Stadtrat vertretenen Familien betrachten. Die Kultivierung ritterlicher Umgangsformen, gemeinsame Festmähler und die commemorative Liturgie galten nämlich für die Gesamtheit der Hofmitglieder, weil sie für die gesamte Kaufmannsschicht charakteristisch waren. Nur in Danzig und Thorn fand der Prozess der sozialen Ausdifferenzierung der Kaufmannsschicht in der Gründung von abgetrennten elitären Bruderschaften (die dem heiligen Georg unterstellt waren) Ausdruck.<sup>25</sup> Es sollte jedoch betont werden, dass auch dieser Eli-

<sup>21</sup> Dünnebeil, Sonja, „Vereinigungen der städtischen Oberschicht im Hanseraum“, In: Janusz Tandecki (ed.), *Die Rolle der Stadtgemeinden und bürgerlichen Genossenschaften im Hanseraum in der Entwicklung und Vermittlung des gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Gedankengutes im Spätmittelalter*. Toruń, 2000. 80.; Selzer, Artushöfe, 123 n.

<sup>22</sup> Pilecka, Elżbieta, *Średniowieczne dwory Artusa w Prusach. Świadectwo kształtowania się nowej świadomości mieszczańskiej*. Toruń 2005. 65 n.; Czaja, Roman, „Patrician Guilds in medieval towns on the Baltic Coast“, = *Acta Poloniae Historica* 92, 2005, 31–51.

<sup>23</sup> Keyser, Erich, „Der Artushof und der „Gemeine Kaufmann“, = *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins* 31, 1932, 38; Pilecka, *Średniowieczne dwory*, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Selzer, *Artushöfe im Ostseeraum*, 1998, 157; Czaja, *Grupy rządzące*, 78 n.

<sup>25</sup> *Bericht über einige Verwaltungen = Angelegenheiten der Stadtgemeinde Thorn*, Ed. G. Bender – Thorn, 1891. 44; Tandecki, Janusz, „Genossenschaftliche Strukturen in preußischen Hanse-

tarismus seinerseits eine Abstufung aufwies. In Thorn vereinte die St. Georgs-Bruderschaft nämlich nur Ratsherrenfamilien, während die Danziger St. Georgs-Bruderschaft einen breiteren sozialen Umfang hatte – zu ihren Mitgliedern zählten sowohl Ratsherren als auch Schöffen.<sup>26</sup>

Die Kaufmannsgilden in Riga und Reval (hier als Große Gilden bezeichnet) behielten im Unterschied zu denen in preußischen Städten eine erheblich größere Autonomie gegenüber den Stadträten. Die Große Gilde in Riga hatte sogar einen gewissen Anteil am Stadtreiment und führte eine selbstständige Außenpolitik.<sup>27</sup> Man kann deshalb vermuten, dass sich auch innerhalb der livländischen Kaufmannsgilden eine soziale Ausdifferenzierung vollzog. Die Entstehung der Korporationen der Schwarzhäupter, die erst in der Neuzeit zu exklusiven kaufmännischen Vereinen wurden, war jedoch – und das gilt es festzuhalten – kein Effekt dieses Prozesses.<sup>28</sup> Als ein Zeugnis für die soziale Sonderstellung der Führungsgruppe innerhalb der Kaufmannsgilde kann jedoch die Tatsache angesehen werden, dass die Mehrheit ihrer Älterleute aus Familien stammte, die im Stadtrat vertreten waren. Ein Ausdruck der Markierung der sozialen Sonderstellung der Führungsgruppe war auch die Entstehung der Älteren und der Jüngeren Bank innerhalb der Großen Gilde in Reval, die beide erstmals 1529 erwähnt werden.<sup>29</sup>

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städten”, In: Jörn, Genossenschaftliche Strukturen, 225 n; Oliński, Piotr, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)*. Toruń, 2008. 201; Czaja, Patrician Guilds, 44.

<sup>26</sup> Selzer, Artushöfe, 1998, 96, 115 n; Zdrenka, Joachim, „Nieznana ingerencja krzyżacka w obasadę Rady Miejskiej Głównego Miasta Gdańska w 1413 r.”, In: Błażej Śliwiński (ed.), *Krzyżacy, szpitalnicy, kondotierzy*. Malbork, 2006. 478 n.

<sup>27</sup> Brück, Thomas, „Zwischen Autonomie und Konfrontation – Bemerkungen zur Politik des Rates von Riga in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts”, In: Ilgvars Mišāns – Horst Wernicke (eds.), *Riga und der Ostseeraum. Von der Gründung 1201 bis in die frühe Neuzeit* (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, 22). Marburg, 2005. 241; Nottbeck von, Eugen, *Die alte Schragen der grossen Gilde*. Reval, 1885. 10; Benninghoven, Friedrich, *Rigas Entstehung und der frühansische Kaufmann*. Hamburg, 1961. 95.

<sup>28</sup> Amelung, Friedrich – Wrangell, Georg, *Geschichte der revaler Schwarzenhäupter*. Reval, 1930. 44; Redlich, Friedrich, *Sitte und Brauch des livländischen Kaufmanns*. Riga, 1935. p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> Nottbeck, Die alte Schragen, 117–119; Mettig, Constantin, „Das Schützengildenbuch der Schwarzenhäupter“, = *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*. Riga, 1885. 105–108.

### III. INSTITUTIONS- UND KULTURGESCHICHTLICHE SCHLAGLICHTER

Im dritten Teil wird nun der Frage nachgegangen, ob der Stadtrat auch im städtischen Milieu als soziale Gruppe auftrat und inwieweit die für eine Gilde konstitutiven Elemente: Eid, Festessen und Erinnerung (Memoria), als Faktoren der Integration der Führungsschicht und der Manifestation ihrer sozialen Sonderstellung anzusehen sind. Begonnen sei mit dem Eid. Der von den neu erwählten Ratsherren abzulegende Eid war ein Akt der Bindung an eine Gruppe, welche eine unabhängige Macht ausübte. Die Eidesformel der Lübecker Ratsherren, in der kein Bezug zum Stadtherrn auftaucht, fand deshalb in den Städten des preußischen und livländischen Ostseeraumes nur wenig Widerhall.<sup>30</sup> Bemerkenswert ist jedoch die Tatsache, dass der Eigenname des Stadtherrn nur in der Eidesformel der Ratsherren von Reval vorkommt.<sup>31</sup> Dagegen tauchen in den Eidesformeln der preußischen Städte entweder nur allgemeine Berufungen auf „meynen rechten Herr“ auf oder der Stadt- und Landesherr wird darin schlichtweg übergangen.<sup>32</sup>

Es sollte auch auf die Rolle der Festessen für die soziale Integration der Ratsherren und für die Selbstdarstellung des Rates hingewiesen werden. Die Analyse der Rigaer und Revaler Kämmereibücher ergibt nämlich, dass die Ausgaben für die Festgelage des Stadtrates von der Mitte des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts wesentlich anstiegen. Auch ist ein Wandel in der Hierarchie städtischer Feste bemerkenswert. Während der Stadtrat von Riga im 14. Jahrhundert den aufwändigsten Schmaus zu Weihnachten veranstaltete, nahm im Laufe der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts die Bedeutung des luxuriösen Konsums in der Fastenachtszeit zu (wobei diese eine Zeit der Vergnügung für die ganze Stadt war).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Ebel, Wilhelm, *Das Lübsche Recht*, Berlin, 1971, 241 n; Poeck, Rituale, 180.

<sup>31</sup> *Dat ik mineme heren deme meistere unde der stad van reveal en truwe boerger will wesen unde will den raet hegen unde helen...*, Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. IX, Ed. H. Hildebrand. Reval, 1889. Nr. 674; Kreem, Juhan, *The town and its lord. Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the fifteenth century)*. Tallinn, 2002. 42–44.

<sup>32</sup> *Ich beriffe mich by myme eyde, den ich gote mynem rechten herren und der statt gethaen habe*: Toeppen, Max, *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*. Marienwerder, 1870–1871. 177; Schultz, Franz, „Die Stadt Kulm im Mittelalter“, = *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 23, 1888, 30; *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. IV, 1870, 338.

<sup>33</sup> Mänd, Anu, „Die Festkultur des livländischen Kaufmanns im Mittelalter am Beispiel der Fastnacht“, In: Robert, Schweitzer – Waltraud, Bastman-Bühner – Jörg Hackmann (eds.), *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten. Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübschen Rechts bis zur Aufklärung*. Helsinki-Lübeck, 2001. 119; Diess., „Social Relations of Hanseatic Merchants as mirrored at Festivals: Example of Medieval Reval and Riga“, In: Misans, Wernicke (eds.), *Riga*, 2005. 234; Diess., *Urban carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic 1350–1550*. Turnhout, 2005. 161 n, 175 n.

Zur Fastnachtszeit nutzten die Ratsherren von Riga und Reval somit die Möglichkeit, ihre Position auch nach außen hin darzustellen. Auch im Lübeck des 15. Jahrhunderts wird der vom Stadtrat veranlasste aufwändige Konsum zum Bestandteil gesamtstädtischer Feierlichkeiten.<sup>34</sup> Eine recht detaillierte Analyse des Konsums im Rahmen der Festessen ermöglicht das Elbinger Rechnungsbuch aus den Jahren 1404–1414.<sup>35</sup> Es zeigt sich dabei, dass die Ratsherren mindestens einige Male pro Jahr an gemeinsamen Festessen teilnahmen, von denen ein Teil die für den feierlichen Konsum im höfischen Milieu und in den süddeutschen Städten typischen Merkmale aufweist. Hierzu zählen Mannigfaltigkeit und eine größere Anzahl von Speisen genauso wie kostbare Getränke und Zuckerwaren, raffinierte Gerichte und eine aufwändige Umrahmung.<sup>36</sup> Es war eine weit verbreitete Gewohnheit in den Städten, dass den Ratsherren zu bestimmten Festtagen Wein und Gewürze mit Zucker übersandt wurden. Diese Geschenke waren nicht nur eine Belohnung für die Ausübung des eigenen Amtes, sondern auch ein Zeichen für soziale Absonderung.<sup>37</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist die durch die Königsberger Ratsherren erlassene Willkür von 1423 von besonderem Interesse. Man beschloss darin, dass den Ratsherren zu Weihnachten und Ostern kein Holz mehr gebracht werden sollte, sondern Wein und Gewürze.<sup>38</sup>

Für die Herausbildung eines Selbstbewusstseins der Führungsgruppe und die Festigung der sozialen Exklusivität des Patriziats war insbesondere – und das gilt es zu betonen – die gemeinschaftliche religiöse Tätigkeit im Rahmen des Stadtrates von erheblicher Bedeutung. Auf Grund der bisherigen Forschung kann man feststellen, dass der Stadtrat in Lübeck bereits gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts die ersten Versuche unternahm, das religiöse Leben für die Führungsschicht zu organisieren; eine Verstärkung dieser Tendenz lässt sich dann seit der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts erkennen.<sup>39</sup>

Die Rigaer und Revaler Räte hoben ihre Präsenz in städtischen Kirchen bevorzugt durch ein Ratsgestühl, ratseigene Kapelle und ein eigener Ratskaplan

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<sup>34</sup> Dünnebeil, *Die Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft*, 190 nn; Diess., „Öffentliche Selbstdarstellung sozialer Gruppen in der Stadt“, In: Hanno Brand (ed.), *Memoria, communitas, civitas: Mémoire et conscience urbaines en occident à la fin du moyen âge*. Ostfilder, 2003. 74.

<sup>35</sup> *Nowa księga rachunkowa Starego Miasta Elbląga 1404-1414*. Ed. M. Pelech, Toruń, 1987-1989. Nr. 14, 29, 233, 430, 471, 610, 783, 1269, 1287.

<sup>36</sup> Fouquet, Gerhard, „Das Festmahl in den oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters. Zu Form, Funktion und Bedeutung öffentlichen Konsums“, = *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 74, 1992. 99 n.

<sup>37</sup> Ebel, *Lübisches Recht*, 238.

<sup>38</sup> Franz, Walter, *Königsberger Willküren*. Königsberg, 1928. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Poeck, Dieter, „Rat und Memoria“, In: Dieter Geuenich – Otto G. Oexle (eds.), *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*. Göttingen, 1994. 286–335; Rüther, Stefanie, *Prestige und Herrschaft. Zur Repräsentation der Lübecker Ratsherren in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2003. 16 nn.

hervor. Im Jahre 1386 wird ein Ratsaltar vor dem Ratsgestühl in der Revaler Dominikanerkirche St. Katharinen erwähnt.<sup>40</sup> Auf die engen Beziehungen zwischen den Dominikanern und dem Stadtrat weist die Tatsache hin, dass Johann Lange der Lektor des Konvents 1426 der Ratskaplan war. In der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts besaß der Revaler Rat überdies je ein Gestühl in der Pfarrkirche St. Nikolai und in der Hospitalkirche zum Heiligen Geist. In der Heilig-Geist-Kirche fanden übrigens auch die öffentlichen Versammlungen und Gerichtssitzungen des Revaler Rates statt.<sup>41</sup>

In Riga sind hingegen bereits um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts eine Ratsvikarie in der Pfarrkirche zu St. Peter und ein Ratsvikar des Stadtrates belegt. In den Jahren 1405–1422 taucht dann Johann Woynckhusen, der einem der lokalen Ratsgeschlechter entstammte, als Vikar des Rates auf.<sup>42</sup> Im 15. Jahrhundert befand sich schließlich ein Ratsgestühl nicht nur in der gerade erwähnten Pfarrkirche, sondern auch in der Katharinen-Kirche beim Franziskanerkloster, im Marien-Dom, in der Dominikanerkirche zum heiligen Johannes und der St. Jakobs-Kirche.<sup>43</sup>

Bestrebungen der Räte, eigene Andachtsorte zu schaffen, lassen sich demgegenüber in Preußen erst im 15. Jahrhundert feststellen. Es scheint, als ob sich diese Verspätung aus der Tatsache ergäbe, dass die Memorie der Ratsgeschlechter zeitlich früher bereits im Rahmen der sozial elitären St. Georgs-Bruderschaften verwirklicht worden ist. Erst als sich deren soziale Exklusivität als unzureichend erwiesen hatte, unternahmen die Stadträte von Danzig, Elbing und Königsberg Aktivitäten zur Entwicklung eigener Formen korporativer Andacht. So errichtete beispielsweise der Danziger Rat in den dreißiger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts eine Ratskapelle in der Marienkirche – und damit ausgerechnet in der Pfarrkirche der Rechtstadt Danzig.<sup>44</sup> Den Prozess einer fortschreitenden sozialen Abgrenzung der Danziger Führungsgruppe und die steigende Rolle einzelner Ratsgeschlechter lässt sich auch an den auf die individuelle Andacht bezogenen

<sup>40</sup> *Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510*. Ed. D. Heckmann. Köln–Weimar–Wien 1995. 65; *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463–1507*. Ed. R. Vogelsang, Köln–Wien, 1983. Nr. 2750.

<sup>41</sup> *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*. Ed. F. G. von Bunge, Bd. 2. Reval, 1885. Nr. 931,7; *ibidem*, Bd. 5. Riga, 1867. Nr. 2502; *ibidem*, Bd. 7. Riga, 1881. Nr. 515, 1098; Poeck, *Rituale*, 263.

<sup>42</sup> *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga 1348–1361, 1405–1474*, Ed. A. von Bulmenrincq. Bd.1. Riga, 1909. 28, 31, 32, 35, 38, 40, 59, 60; Leonid, Arbusow, „Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jh.“, = *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik* 9, 1901, 142.

<sup>43</sup> *Die libri redituum der Stadt Riga*, Ed. L. Napiersky, Leipzig, 1881. III, Nr. 36 *Kämmerei-Register*, 1909. 64, 72, 107, 274, 276, 332; Poeck, *Rituale*, 2003, 263, 2003, 255.

<sup>44</sup> *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren an der Kurie*, Bd. 3, Ed. K. Forstreuter – H. Koeppen. Göttingen, 1973. 604; Oliński, *Fundacje*, 160 n, 264 n; Hirsch, Theodor, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig*. Danzig, 1843. 385 n.

Privilegien ablesen. 1446 gestand der Lesslauer Bischof den Bürgermeistern, Ratsherren und Schöffen sowie ihren Ehefrauen die persönliche Auswahl ihrer Beichtväter zu, ohne dass in der betreffenden Urkunde die entsprechenden Namen genannt werden. In einem weiteren Privileg aus dem Jahr 1456 werden hingegen die Schöffen nicht erwähnt, während die Bürgermeister und Ratsherren bzw. ihre Ehefrauen einzeln genannt werden.<sup>45</sup> Eigene Altäre und Kapläne besaßen im 15. Jahrhundert auch die Ratsherren und Schöffen in der Altstadt Elbing, wie auch in der Altstadt Königsberg und in Kneiphof.<sup>46</sup> Dagegen hielt der Thorner Rat nicht für nötig, seine Sonderstellung durch die Stiftung einer eigenen Kapelle hervorzuheben; die korporativen Formen religiösen Lebens des Thorner Patriziats entwickelten sich nämlich ausschließlich innerhalb der St. Georg-Bruderschaft.<sup>47</sup>

#### IV. FAZIT

Aus den vorgestellten Beobachtungen lassen sich folgende Schlussfolgerungen ziehen: 1) Aufgrund einer statistischen Analyse der personellen Zusammensetzung der Führungsgruppen in den untersuchten Städten ist – und dies sei mit allem Nachdruck hervorgehoben – keine gemeinsame Entwicklungslinie festzustellen. Vielmehr zeigten sich hinsichtlich der sozialen Aufstiegsmechanismen erheblich Unterschiede. 2) Bemerkenswert ist jedoch die Tatsache, dass die jeweilige Führungsgruppe als in sich geschlossener Kreis wahrgenommen wurde, obwohl eigentlich eine große soziale Mobilität bestand. Dies ergab sich aus einer Konfrontation wahrnehmungsgeschichtlicher Ergebnisse mit der genannten statistischen Analyse. 3) In den Ostseestädten lässt sich kein einheitliches Modell der Ausnutzung korporativer Formen des Zusammenlebens zur Markierung der eigenen sozialen Position innerhalb der Führungsgruppen erkennen. In Lübeck war die Präsentation der im Stadtrat vertretenen Familien beispielsweise nur eine sekundäre Funktion der als exklusiv geltenden Bruderschaften, deren Genese mit den Bemühungen der nicht zum Stadtrat gehörenden Kaufleute um Integration sowie um Stärkung der eigenen politischen Stellung innerhalb der breiten kaufmännischen Schicht zusammenhing. Im Ordensland fand hingegen die Etablierung der städtischen Führungsgruppen innerhalb einer breiteren Kaufmannsschicht in der Über-

<sup>45</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [Staatsarchiv Danzig], 300, D, 43, Nr. 56, 57, 70.

<sup>46</sup> *Elbinger Stadtbuch*, Bd. 2: 1361-1418, Ed. H. W. Hoppe. Osnabrück, 1986. Nr. 2380; *Quellen-Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg im Mittelalter*. Ed. M. Perlach. Göttingen, 1878. 110–133; Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten*, 1870–71, 118; Franz, Walter, „Die geistlichen Bruderschaften Königsbergs im Mittelalter“, = *Prussia* 34, 1940, 167; Oliński, Fundacje, 166, 387.

<sup>47</sup> Czaja, Roman, „Korporative Formen der Religiosität des Patriziats in den preußischen Großstädten“, = *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 2, 1997, 117 n.



nahme der Kontrolle über die Kompenhäuser durch die Stadträte und der Gründung elitärer Bruderschaften Ausdruck. Der hier praktizierte Elitarismus wies allerdings, wie neuere sozialgeschichtliche Analysen, deutliche Abstufungen auf. 4) Im Laufe des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts ging nämlich in den großen Ostseestädten aus der breiten kaufmännischen Schicht eine engere Führungsgruppe hervor, die trotz großer sozialer Mobilität ihre jeweils separate Identität entwickelte. Sie tat dies auf der Grundlage der verfassungsrechtlichen Position des Rates und der im Rahmen des Rates entwickelten Formen des geselligen und religiösen Lebens. Dieses Ergebnis ergibt sich aus einer Zusammenschau institutions- und kulturgeschichtlicher Überlegungen.

Tabelle 1.

*Die soziale Mobilität der Stadträte in den Ostseestädten 1300–1500:  
3. und 4 Mal im Rat vertretene Familien (in Prozent)*

Jahr	Lübeck	Wismar	Danzig	Thorn	Elbing	Kulm	Königsberg	Riga	Reval
1300	27	7	–	6	10	–	–	8	–
1320	27	20	–	0	5	11	0	24	–
1340	51	19	0	24	6	31	0	20	5
1360	46	–	0	30	29	28	0	6	13
1380	28	23	10	17	33	47	0	22	18
1400	27	20	0	36	52	43	0	28	12
1420	19	10	4	39	13	23	17	5	15
1440	25	17	18	46	0	8	0	12	18
1460	16	10	4	40	19	8	0	8	5
1480	14	18	9	19	19	–	0	8	12
1500	20	28	12	21	16	–	9	4	26

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## RITTERKULTUR IM SPÄTMITTELALTERLICHEN LITAUEN\*

In der Geschichtsschreibung wird das 14. Jahrhundert oft als hundertjähriger Krieg zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und Litauen bezeichnet.<sup>1</sup> Zwischen 1305 und 1409 gab es ungefähr 300 Expeditionen und militärische Aktionen auf dem litauischen Gebiet, und es kam zu genauso vielen oder noch mehr litauischen Angriffen.<sup>2</sup> Trotz der kontinuierlichen Kämpfe gab es auch friedliche Kontakte zwischen den beiden, die zu kulturellen Annäherungen, zur Bekanntschaft und Übernahme die materieller Kulturen und weltanschaulicher Besonderheiten führten. Ein gutes Beispiel hierfür, das auch in den Quellen beschrieben wurde, ist die Übernahme der ritterlichen Kampfmethodik und der ritterlichen Kultur. Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde es immer üblicher, dass die litauischen Adligen an Lanzenpielen teilnahmen, beziehungsweise ritterliche Symbole und Wappen benutzten.<sup>3</sup> Als der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens im Jahre 1446 die Ritter Hans Marschalk und Jennichen von Tergowitz als Gesandte an den litauischen Hof schickte, wurden sie neben diplomatischen Aufgaben auch beauftragt „*ritterschaft zcu uben*“.<sup>4</sup> Dieser Brief beweist, dass auch in Litauen, in

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<sup>1</sup> Housley, Norman, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580. From Lyons to Alcazar*. Oxford, 1992. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Paravicini, Werner, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*. Teil 2. (Beihefte der Francia, 17/2.) Sigmaringen, 1995. 19.; Kurt Forstreuter, *Deutschland und Litauen im Mittelalter*. (Studien zum Deutschtum im Osten) Köln–Graz, 1962. 4–5.; Jakštas, Juozas, „Das Baltikum in der Kreuzzugsbewegung des 14. Jahrhunderts. Die Nachrichten Philipps de Mézières über die baltischen Gebiete“, = *Commentationes Balticae* VI–VII, 1958–1959, 139–183.; Zająkowski, Stanisław, „Wilhelm de Machaut i jego wiadomości do dziejów Polski i Litwy w XIV w.“, = *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 43, 1929, 227–228.; Ehlers, Axel, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 64.) Marburg, 2007. 51–52.

<sup>3</sup> Semkowicz, Władysław: Braterstwo szlachty polskiej z bojarstwem litewskim w unji horodelskiej 1413 roku. In: *Polska i Litwa w dziejowym stosunku*. Kraków, 1914. 393–446. hier: 414–415.

<sup>4</sup> Geheimes Staatsarchiv. Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Ordens Foliant (= OF) 16, 1152–1154.

dem in Europa als letztes zum Christentum bekehrten Land,<sup>5</sup> die ritterliche Kultur Wurzeln schlug und sich verbreitete. Die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts und die erste Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts war die Epoche der „Modernisierung“ im mittelalterlichen Sinne des Wortes. Diese Modernisierung wurde aber nicht in jeder Hinsicht mit dem Christentum verknüpft. Zu dieser Zeit entstand die großfürstliche Dynastie, der litauische Adel, der die Rolle als Kulturträger des ritterlichen, individuellen, militärischen Wertesystems erfüllen konnte. Jetzt verstärkte sich die militärische Potenz des Fürstentums und entstanden die ersten Städte.<sup>6</sup> Diese breit verstandene Kultur war nicht ausschließlich mit dem Christentum verbunden, aber im spätmittelalterlichen Europa bildeten das Rittertum und der Katholizismus eine mit einander eng verknüpfte Einheit.<sup>7</sup> Das Fresko im Straßburger Dom aus dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts zeigt sehr gut die Beurteilung von Litauen im zeitgenössischen Europa. Hinter dem europäischen Staat (Volk), der mit 12 Rittern mit einem Kreuz dargestellt war, symbolisierte

<sup>5</sup> Über die späte Annahme des Christentums in Litauen siehe: Baronas, Darius, Die Hintergründe für Litauens späte Annahme des Christentums, = *Annaberger Annalen* 14, 2006, 6–12.; Chodyncki, Kazimierz, „Próby zaprowadzenia chrześcijaństwa na Litwie przed 1385 r.”, = *Przegląd Historyczny* 18, 1914, 215–318.; Vardys, V. Stanley, „Christianity in Lithuania”, = *Lituanus. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, = 34, 1988, 3: 1–3.; Urban, William, „The Conversion of Lithuania 1387”, = *Lituanus. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 33, 1987, 4: 3.; Jurginis, Juozas, „Das Christentum in Litauen: seine Einführung und die Auswirkung auf die weitere Entwicklung des Landes”, = *Litauen Heute* 24, 1984, 23.; Górski, Karol, „Probleme der Christianisierung in Preußen, Livland und Litauen”, In: Zenon Hubert Nowak (Hg.), *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes*. (Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica, 1). Toruń, 1983. 10–31. hier: 10.; Selart, Anti, „Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity: Livonia and the Evil Elements in the Fifteenth Century”, In: Gerhard Jaritz – Juhan Kreem (Eds.), *The Edges of the Medieval World*. (CEU Medievalia, 11) Budapest, 2009. 55–69. hier: 56.; Kiaupa, Zigmantas – Kiaupienė, Jūratė – Kuncevičius, Albinas, *The History of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius, 2000. 145–147.

<sup>6</sup> Zajaczkowski, Stanisław, „Die Geschichte Litauens bis 1386 in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der letzten 20 Jahre”, = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 4, 1939, 1–2.: 136–148. hier: 139.; Nikžentaitis, Alvydas, „Litauen unter den Grossfürsten Gedimin (1316–1341) und Olgerd (1345–1377)”, In: Marc Löwener (Hg.), *Die „Blüte“ der Staaten des östlichen Europa im 14. Jahrhundert*. (Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien, 14.) Wiesbaden, 2004. 65–74. hier: 74.; Ochmański, Jerzy, „Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Litauens vom Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts bis 1655”, = *Studia Historiae Oeconomicae* 15, 1980, 131–159.; Zigmantas Kiaupa, „Die litauischen Städte im Spätmittelalter – zwischen eigener Herkunft und dem Einfluß ausländischer Nachbarn”, In: Ortwin Pelc – Gertrud Pickhan (Hg.), *Zwischen Lübeck und Novgorod. Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*. Norbert Angermann zum 60. Geburtstag. Lüneburg, 1996. 167–176.

<sup>7</sup> Bosl, Karl, *Die Gesellschaft in der Geschichte des Mittelalters*. Göttingen, 1975. 74–76.; Brunner, Otto, „Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur”, In: Arno Borst (Hg.), *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*. (Wege der Forschung CCCIL) Darmstadt, 1976. 142–171.; Ganshof, François Louis, „Was ist das Rittertum?”, In: *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, 130–141.; Bloch, Marc, *A feudális társadalom*. [Die feudale Gesellschaft]. Budapest, 2002. 344–347.; Zombori, István, *Lovagok és lovagrendek*. [Ritter und Ritterorden] Budapest, 1988. 8–9.

ein Fußgänger das sich frisch zum Christentum bekehrte Litauen.<sup>8</sup> Für die Verbreitung und Übernahme der ritterlichen Kultur waren die diplomatischen und militärischen Kontakte wichtig, aber die Hochschätzung der individuellen Auszeichnung, persönliche Sympathie und Freundschaft waren auch nicht zu vernachlässigen. Der litauische Adel und die Fürsten heirateten in die katholischen polnischen und die orthodoxen ostslawischen Fürstenhäuser ein.<sup>9</sup> Als Anfang 1297 ein militärischer Konflikt zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und der Stadt Riga, und deren Erzbischof entstand, verbündeten sich das Domkapitel und der Magistrat der Stadt Riga mit dem heidnischen litauischen Fürsten Vytenis.<sup>10</sup> Die westlichen Ritter, die sehr lange am litauischen fürstlichen Hof gefangen saßen und wegen ihres Ranges und gesellschaftlichen Status respektiert und hochgeschätzt wurden, konnten am Hof großen Einfluss ausüben. Heinrich Kränichfeld, der Komtur von Rastenburg, wurde 1353 durch die Litauer gefangen genommen und erst nach acht Jahren befreit, als der Hochmeister ihn mit den litauischen Adeligen, die in Gefangenschaft des Deutschen Ordens saßen, austauschen konnte.<sup>11</sup> Johann Kolin, der Komtur von Johannsburg, saß fünf Jahre lang und der Ritter Johann Schönefeld 4 Jahre lang in litauischer Gefangenschaft.<sup>12</sup> Auf Grund eines Berichts aus dem Jahr 1337 war ein junger deutscher Adeliger neun Jahre lang in einem litauischen Gefängnis, nachdem er als Kreuzritter ins Baltikum gekommen war, um gegen die Heiden zu kämpfen.<sup>13</sup> Der Großherzog Vytautas ließ 1400 einen Brabanter Adeligen frei, der an seinem Hof gefangen saß („*eynen ritter von Brabant, der do gefangen was*“).<sup>14</sup> Einerseits konnten die Litauer von den westlichen Gefangenen vieles lernen, andererseits war diese Wirkung auch gegenseitig. In der Beschreibung von Hermann von

<sup>8</sup> Samsonowicz, Henryk, „Wizerunek Europy z początku XV wieku“, In: *Sztuka około 1400. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*. I. Poznań, 1995. 35–39.

<sup>9</sup> Ivinskis, Zenonas, „Mindaugas und seine Krone“, = *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 3, 1954. 3: 367.; Hocij, Michajlo, „Die Krone des Mindaugas“, = *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 3, 1954. H.3., 408.; Ivinskis, Zenonas, „A Contribution of the History of the Conversion of Lithuania“, = *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries* 5, 1939, 1: 16.

<sup>10</sup> Selart, Anti, *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert*. (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 21.) Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2007. 256–257. und 284.

<sup>11</sup> Wigand von Marburg, *Chronicon*. In: Theodor Hirsch – Max Toeppen – Ernst Strehle (Hg.), *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* II. [=SRP] Leipzig, 1863. 520., 529–530.

<sup>12</sup> Wigand, SRP II. 529., 555.; Über die Leute die während der litauischen Kriege gefangen genommen wurden siehe: Nikžentaitis, Alvydas, „Prisoners of War in Lithuania and the Teutonic Order State (1283–1409)“, In: Zenon Hubert Nowak – Roman Czaja (Hg.), *Der Deutsche Orden und die Zeit der Kalmarer Union 1397–1521*. (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica X.) Toruń, 1999. 193–208.

<sup>13</sup> Wigand, SRP II. 494–495.

<sup>14</sup> Johann von Posilge, *Chronik des Landes Preussen*. In: Theodor Hirsch – Max Toeppen – Ernst Strehle (Hg.), *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* III. Leipzig, 1866. 236.

Wartberge steht, dass in den Jahren 1374 und 1376 einige Christen abtrünnig wurden.<sup>15</sup> Gegen den Deutschen Orden kämpften 1330 der litauische Fürst Gediminas und der polnische König Łokietek, die 1325 mit der Ehe ihrer Kinder ein Bündnis knüpften.<sup>16</sup> Der gemeinsame Feldzug bot den Litauern eine Möglichkeit die christlichen Waffen, den Panzer und die militärischen Werte kennenzulernen. Zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und Litauen kam es in den Kriegen während des 14. Jahrhunderts oft zum Duell oder Lanzenspiel, wo die litauischen Kämpfer die ritterlichen Waffen und Kampfmethoden „körpernah“ kennenlernen konnten. In den Aufzeichnungen *Canonici Sambiensis* steht, dass ein tschechischer Adliger, Plisk genannt, der mit vielen westlichen Rittern in einem litauischen Feldzug zusammenkämpfte, 1316 einen Litauer in einem Duell überwand und tötete.<sup>17</sup> Als der tschechische König Johann 1337 seinen zweiten Kreuzzug gegen die Litauer führte,<sup>18</sup> vereinbarte er mit Margaritis, einem litauischen Adligen, ein Duell, aber es kam nicht mehr dazu, sagt die Chronik.<sup>19</sup> Der österreichische Ritterdichter Peter Suchenwirt schrieb in seinem Werk, dass der Ritter Konrad von Schweinbart während des Feldzugs des österreichischen Prinzen Albrecht III. den Führer der Heiden mit seiner Lanze in einem Duell aus dem Sattel stieß und ihn mit seinem Schwert tötete.<sup>20</sup> Diese Berichte bestätigen, dass sich die westliche Kampfkunst im 14. Jahrhundert unter den litauischen Adligen verbreitete und der Adel auch die ritterliche Bewaffnung und andere Elemente der ritterlichen Kultur kennenlernte. Die Adligen begegneten sicher der Zeremonie des Ritterschlags, weil es während des litauischen Feldzuges oft zum Ritterschlag unter den Christen kam.<sup>21</sup> In den Aufzeichnungen von Wigand von Marburg wurde der litauische Bojar Patrikas, der mit dem Deutschen Orden sympathisierte, dem westlichen Muster folgend zum Ritter geschlagen.<sup>22</sup> Die Beziehungen zwischen den Litauern und dem Deutschen Orden wurden ab und zu sehr familiär, was in Litauen bei der Annahme der westlichen Kultur eine besonders

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<sup>15</sup> Wartberge, SRP II. 111., 140–141.

<sup>16</sup> Hierüber siehe: Hein, Max, „Die Verleihung Litauens an den Deutschen Orden durch Kaiser Ludwig den Bayern im Jahre 1337“, = *Altpreußische Forschungen* 19, 1942. 2: 36–49. hier: 39–43.

<sup>17</sup> Canonici Sambiensis, In: Theodor Hirsch, Max Toeppen, Ernst Strehlke (Hg.), *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* I. Leipzig, 1861. 186.

<sup>18</sup> Über den zweiten Kreuzzug von Johann von Böhmen siehe: Meltzer, Franz, *Die Ostraupolitik König Johanns von Böhmen. Ein Beitrag zur Ostraumfrage im 14. Jahrhundert.* (Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte 12.) Jena, 1940. 125–126.; Hoensch, Jörg K., *Die Luxemburger. Eine spätmittelalterliche Dynastie gesamteuropäischer Bedeutung 1308–1437.* Stuttgart, 2000. 89.

<sup>19</sup> Wigand, SRP II. 489–490.

<sup>20</sup> Suchenwirt, SRP II. 166.

<sup>21</sup> Suchenwirt, SRP II. 157., 159., 165.; Posilge, SRP III. 228.

<sup>22</sup> Wigand, SRP II. 545.

wichtige Rolle spielte. Der Pate von Danute, der Tochter des Fürsten Kęstutis, wurde Gunther von Hohenstein, der Komtur von Osterode, als sie den Fürsten von Masowien heiratete und sich taufen ließ. Diese freundschaftliche Beziehung zwischen dem Fürsten und dem Komtur blieb auch später erhalten.<sup>23</sup> Auch diese Beziehung trug wahrscheinlich dazu bei, dass der litauische Fürst ausgezeichnet Deutsch sprach und deshalb die ritterliche Kultur verstehen konnte. Da Kęstutis Deutsch konnte, fand er in den 1350er Jahren unter den westlichen Rittern Anerkennung. Die zeitgenössischen Meinungen sagten, dass der litauische Fürst alle ritterlichen Ideale verkörperte.<sup>24</sup> In der Chronik von Wigand von Marburg steht, dass sich der ritterliche Ethos und der Ehrenkodex der ritterlichen Kultur, die unbeschriebene Ethik des Duells an dem heidnischen litauischen Fürstenhof verbreiteten.<sup>25</sup> Der heidnische Kęstutis wurde in der christlichen Welt als Ritter betrachtet, weil er 1358 positiv auf den Aufruf von Kaiser Karl IV. zur Bekehrung reagierte<sup>26</sup> (dies versprach er schon sieben Jahre früher dem ungarischen König Ludwig).<sup>27</sup> Obwohl er selbst sich nicht bekehrte, wurde sein Sohn Butautas 1365 christlich. Er muss mit seinem Vater in Konflikt geraten sein. Deswegen flüchtete er zum Deutschen Orden und wurde dort getauft, später ging er an den Hof des Kaisers Karl IV. („*Item in desim jore qwam Kynstottin son ken Pruszen. Von eygenem willen entreit her von dem vater unde wart getouft czu Kongsberg unde warth Heynrich genant, unde czog dornach czum keyser; der behilt yn bie ym unde gap ym lant unde luthe yn; unde wart eyn gutter cristin*“).<sup>28</sup>

Im letzten Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts wurden die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen der christlichen Welt und Litauen lebendiger. Skirgila, der Neffe von Kęstutis, reiste zum ungarischen König und dem neuen Kaiser Wenzel IV. Nach dem Ausbruch des Kampfes um den litauischen Fürstenthron verließ 1381 auch

<sup>23</sup> Petrauskas, Rimvydas, „Der Frieden im Zeitalter des Krieges. Formen friedlicher Kommunikation zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und dem Großfürstentum Litauen zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts“, = *Annaberger Annalen* 12, 2004, 28–42. hier: 31.; Rowell, Stephen C., „Unexpected Contacts Lithuanians at Western Courts, c. 1316 – c. 1400“, = *The English Historical Review* 111, 1996. 442: 557–577. hier: 565.

<sup>24</sup> Die Ältere Hochmeisterchronik, SRP III. 593–594.

<sup>25</sup> Wigand, SRP II. 494–495.

<sup>26</sup> Grundmann, Herbert, „Das Schreiben Kaiser Karls IV. an die heidnischen Litauer-Fürsten 1358“, = *Folia Diplomatica* 1, 1971, 89–101. hier: 98.

<sup>27</sup> Mierzyński, Antoni, „Der Eid des Keistutis im Jahre 1351“, = *Sitzungsberichte der Altertums-gesellschaft Prussia* 18, 1893, 104–112.; Bertényi, Iván, *Nagy Lajos király*. [König Ludwig der Große] Budapest, 1989. 102.; Rowell, Stephen C., „A Pagan’s Word: Lithuanian Diplomatic Procedure 1200–1385“, = *Journal of Medieval History* 18, 1992, 145–160. hier: 152–156. und 159–160.; Kristó, Gyula, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*. [Kriege der Anjou Zeit] Budapest, 1983. 128.

<sup>28</sup> Posilge, SRP III. 84.

Vaidutis, der Sohn des emigrierten Butautas, Litauen.<sup>29</sup> Nachdem der Großherzog Jogaila zum Christentum übergetreten, die polnische Königin Jadwiga geheiratet und dadurch auch den polnischen Thron bestiegen (1386) und sich nach einem langen Krieg mit seinem Cousin Vytautas, dem Sohn Kęstutis, versöhnt hatte (1401),<sup>30</sup> wurde die ritterliche Kultur und das Wertesystem der Ritter am litauischen Fürstenhof und in den höchsten litauischen Adelskreisen allgemein bekannt. In einer Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1431 identifizieren sich die litauischen Adligen als Christen und Ritter.<sup>31</sup> Die litauischen Adligen schickten schon 1403 einen Herold zu Markward von Salzbach, dem Komtur von Brandenburg („...*bayoren herolden santen czu Marquard*“),<sup>32</sup> um ihn zum ritterlichen Lanzenpiel herauszufordern. Diese Information ist auch deswegen so wichtig, weil die Funktion des Herolds am polnischen Königshof auch erst kurz zuvor, nämlich 1395 erschien.<sup>33</sup> Noch in demselben Jahr schickte der Komtur von Balga Čupurna dem Befehlshaber der litauischen Armee 2 Paar Sporen, Symbole der Ritterschaft, als Zeichen seiner Freundschaft.<sup>34</sup> In der Abwicklung der Zeremonien und Veranstaltungen am Fürstenhof von Vytautas spielte der Herold Niclus Luczke („*Niclus Luczke des herczogen Witouts herolde*“) eine wichtige Rolle.<sup>35</sup> Der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens schenkte 1408 dem Fürsten Vytautas drei ritterliche Sättel, Zaum und Sporen.<sup>36</sup> In der Verbreitung der ritterlichen Kultur in Litauen spielten die ausländischen Adligen, die den Fürstenhof besuchten, und die fremden Ritter im Dienst von Vytautas eine Rolle. (Aber auch in anderen ostmitteleuropäischen Ländern waren grundsätzlich die fremden Ritter die Verbreiter der ritterlichen Kultur und Werte.)<sup>37</sup> Im Jahre 1406 reisten zwei burgundische Herolde nach Litauen.<sup>38</sup> 1412 besuchte Alfons Mundarra, ein

<sup>29</sup> Posilge, SRP III. 115.

<sup>30</sup> *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*. Ed. Antoni Prochaska (= CEV) Krakoviae, 1882. Nr. 223., 224.; Manfred Hellmann, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Litauens*. Darmstadt, 1976. 41.; Horst Jablonowski, *Westrussland zwischen Wilna und Moskau. Die politische Stellung und die politischen Tendenzen der Russischen Bevölkerung des Grossfürstentum Litauen im 15. Jahrhundert*. Leiden, 1955. 26.

<sup>31</sup> OF 14, 599–600.

<sup>32</sup> Posilge, SRP III. 267.

<sup>33</sup> Kuczyński, Stefan Krzysztof: „*Heroldowie króla polskiego*“. *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti*. Toruń, 1997. 329–339.

<sup>34</sup> CDP VI. 172.

<sup>35</sup> CEV 969., 972., 973.

<sup>36</sup> *Das Marienburger Treßlerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*. Hg. Erich Joachim. Königsberg, 1896. 489.

<sup>37</sup> Fügedi, Erik – Bak, János M., „Fremde Ritter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn“, = *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 3, 1998, 3–17.; Jurek, Tomasz, „Fremde Ritter im mittelalterlichen Polen“, = *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 3, 1998, 19–49.

<sup>38</sup> Petrauskas, Der Frieden im Zeitalter, 32.



Adliger aus Kastilien, den litauischen Fürsten.<sup>39</sup> Im 10. November 1412 reiste Benedek Makra, der Gesandte von Sigismund, dem deutsch-römischen Kaiser und ungarischen König, nach Brześć, davon nach Marienburg und Vilnius, um zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und Litauen zu vermitteln.<sup>40</sup> 1414 besuchte Ghillebert de Lannoy, ein burgundischer Ritter, den litauischen Hof, wohin er sieben Jahre später, 1421, zurückkehrte.<sup>41</sup> Adelige aus Brabant und Mailand kamen nach Vilnius.<sup>42</sup> Der polnische Jakub Kobylany oder der masowische Jerzy Strumilo bekleideten hohe Ämter am Hof von Vytautas. Konrad, Herzog von Oleśnica, verbrachte im Jahre 1417 als Ritter lange Monate am litauischen Hof genauso wie andere schlesische Adelige sowie Konrad Frankenberg, Thomschilk von Tannenfeld oder Sigmunt Roth.<sup>43</sup> Wenczlaw, Herzog von Opawa (Troppau), lebte auch einige Jahre lang am litauischen Fürstenhof, aber nicht mehr in der Zeit von Vytautas, sondern unter der Herrschaft seines Nachfolgers, des Großherzogs Svitrigaila.<sup>44</sup> Aber nicht nur die ausländischen Ritter kamen nach Litauen, sondern immer mehr litauische Adelige reisten im 15. Jahrhundert in andere Länder und kamen an den spätmittelalterlichen Höfen mit der ritterlichen Kultur in Kontakt.<sup>45</sup> 1427 wurde Henne, ein litauischer Bojar, in Marienburg, dem Sitz des Ordens „czum ritter geschlagen“.<sup>46</sup> Der litauische Ritter Stanislovas Sudijovaitis erschien als Gesandter des Großherzogs 1469 in Rom.<sup>47</sup> Albertas Jonaitis Mauvydas besuchte 1475 den Hof des bayrischen Herzogs, als Jadwiga, die Tochter von Kasimir, dem polnischen König und litauischen Großherzog, den bayrischen Herzog heiratete.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Petrauskas, Rimvydas, „Knighthood in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the late Fourteenth to the early sixteenth Countries“, = *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 11, 2006, 39–66. hier: 46.

<sup>40</sup> Boockmann, Hartmut, *Johannes Falkenberg, der Deutsche Orden und die polnische Politik*. Göttingen, 1975. 102–103.

<sup>41</sup> Mickūnaitė, Giedrė, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania*. Budapest – New York, 2006. 30.

<sup>42</sup> CEV 463.

<sup>43</sup> CEV 396.; Liedtke, Antoni, „Nieznany list w Księcia Litewskiego Witolda do Jana biskupa włocławskiego z r. 1417“, = *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 46, 1932, 149.; Jakubczak, Sławomir, „Jerzy Strumillo – przywódca konfederacji lwowskiej 1464 roku“, = *Společnostwo Polski średniowiecznej* 5, 1992, 245–254.; Petrauskas, Knighthood, 51–52.

<sup>44</sup> OBA 6124.

<sup>45</sup> Über die spätmittelalterliche Ritterkultur siehe: Huizinga, Johann, *A középkor alkonya*. [Herbst des Mittelalters] Budapest, 1982. 55.; Duby, Georges, *A katedrálisok kora*. [Die Zeit der Kathedralen], Budapest, 1984. 193.

<sup>46</sup> CEV 775.

<sup>47</sup> Petrauskas, Knighthood, 54.

<sup>48</sup> Biskup, Marian, „Wokół „Landshuckiego wesela” 1475 roku“, In. Marian Biskup – Karol Górski (eds.), *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*. Warsaw, 1987. 297–298.

Die Ritterkämpfe, die Turniern dienten zur Darstellung der ritterlichen Tugenden und des Schneids.<sup>49</sup> Als Sigismund von Luxemburg 1412 in Ofen die Rolle des Schiedsrichters im Streit zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und dem polnisch-litauischen Staat spielte, wurde am königlichen Sitz einer der größten und prachtvollsten Turnies Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts organisiert.<sup>50</sup> Wie wir aus der Aufzeichnung des polnischen Chronisten Jan Długosz wissen, nahmen etwa 100 Ritter aus 20 Ländern unter ihnen auch litauische Ritter an diesem Kampf teil.<sup>51</sup> In einer Urkunde von 1422 wurde aufgezeichnet, dass es auch am Hof von Vytautas einen Kampfplatz für Ritterkämpfe gab.<sup>52</sup> Der ungarische König Sigismund von Luxemburg stiftete 1408 mit Königin Borbála und 22 Baronen einen weltlichen Ritterorden, den Drachenorden, der neben dem burgundischen Orden vom Goldenen Vlies und dem englischen Hosenbandorden einer der beliebtesten und wichtigsten weltlichen Ritterorden seiner Zeit war.<sup>53</sup> 1429 wurden Vytautas und auch seine Frau Mitglieder des Drachenordens.<sup>54</sup> Dieses Geschehen symbolisiert auch wie tief sich die ritterliche Kultur und Werte in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 15. Jahrhunderts in Litauen verwurzelten.

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<sup>49</sup> Sandberger, Dietrich, *Studien über das Rittertum in England, vornehmlich während des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1937. 15–74.; Pohanka, Reinhard, *Das Rittertum*. Wiesbaden, 2011. 110–137.; Zombori, Lovagok, 29–36.; Behringer, Wolfgang, *A sport kultúrtörténete az ókori olimpiáktól napjainkig*. [Kulturgeschichte des Sports von den altertümlichen olympischen Spielen bis heute] Budapest, 2014. 90–98. und 139–141.

<sup>50</sup> Klaus Neitmann (Hg.), *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*. Bd. I. No. 86, 87, 89, 104.

<sup>51</sup> Joannis Dlugossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber decimus et liber undecimus (1406–1412)*. Ed. Danuta Turkowska. Warsaw, 1997. 202.; Am Ritterkampf im Jahre 1412 in Buda siehe: Dvořáková, Daniela, *A lovag és királya. Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond. Képek és történetek egy középkori magyar nemes életéből*. [Der Ritter und seine König. Stibor von Stiborc und Sigismund von Luxemburg. Bilder und Geschichten aus dem Leben eines ungarischen mittelalterlichen Adligen], Bratislava, 2009. 216.

<sup>52</sup> CEV 578.

<sup>53</sup> Über die Gründung des Drachenordens siehe: Dvořáková, A lovag, 203–207.; Mályusz, Elemér, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon*. [Die Herrschaft von des Königs Sigismund in Ungarn] Budapest, 1984. 60–61.; Über die spätmittelalterliche weltliche Ritterorden siehe: Zombori, Lovagok, 115–126.; Hunyadi, Zsolt – Pósán, László, *Krisztus katonái. A középkori lovagrendek*. [Soldaten von Christus. Mittelalterliche Ritterorden] Debrecen, 2011. 125–129.

<sup>54</sup> Dvořáková, A lovag, 204.; Lövei, Pál, „A sárkányrend fennmaradt emlékei” [Die aufbewahrten Spuren des Drachenordens], In: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában, 1397–1437. Tanulmányok*. [Die Kunst in der Zeit des Königs Sigismund 1397–1437. Studien] Budapest, 1987. 148–179.

ÁDÁM NOVÁK

## THE SEAL USAGE OF HUNGARIAN ARISTOCRATS IN THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY\*

In my paper I would like to summarize the historiography of the Hungarian sphragistic studies in two steps, by which I wish to point out the deficiencies and also the current projects. As an introduction of the topic I will present my research results regarding the seal usage of János Perényi, Master of the Treasury. After the introduction I intend to show both the importance and the difficulties of investigating poly-sigillic diplomas and I also present a short introduction of my project which focuses on such diplomas issued/published between 1439 and 1457. In the second part of my paper I wish to highlight the observations I have made so far on seal usage, namely that there is indeed a certain consistency in the seal usage of secular dignity.

### INTRODUCTION

Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz<sup>1</sup> and Imre Szentpétery<sup>2</sup> were the two illustrious historians who put down the bases of Hungarian sphragistics and diplomatics before WWII. It reflects the permanency of their synthesizing works that both were republished in the 1990s and only with modest corrections. However, this also means that there was no wide-spread sigillographic research in the second half of the twentieth century or that its results were not put in a monograph. Of course we must not forget about the researchers of medieval auxiliary sciences – Géza Érszegi, László Solymosi, Iván Bertényi – or about their works.<sup>3</sup> Neither should

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<sup>1</sup> Kumorovitz, Lajos, Bernát, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban. Der Gebrauch von Siegeln in Ungarn im Mittelalter*. (second, expanded and revised edition). Budapest, 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Szentpétery, Imre, *Magyar oklevéltan*. Budapest, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> For example: *Sigilla regum – reges sigillorum. Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétygyűjteményéből*. Ed. Érszegi, Géza. The description of the seals by Sölch, Miklós. Pho-

we forget about the undisputedly useful and everlasting works of art historians - Jolán Balogh, Pál Lövei, Imre Takács and Imre Bodor.<sup>4</sup> Many analyses and disclosures have been published owing to the researchers listed above. Moreover, thanks to the National Archive of the Hungarian National Archives<sup>5</sup> the publication of a new series was started in 2012 which aims to collect the sphragistic relics of medieval Hungary. The first volume presents the seals of the House of Árpád, accompanied by the publications of colourful imprints and introductory articles of art historians.<sup>6</sup> However, as the review of the above mentioned volume has pointed out, the writer and editor of this publication made several mistakes.<sup>7</sup>

This is due to the fact that until now no usable index has been made on (our) medieval seals. Although the index made by Dezső Csánki in 1889 was a great step forward in that era, it is out of date today.<sup>8</sup> Since this work incorporates only the core stock of the HNA it is incorrect and incomplete. The seals of the many documents and even the documents themselves have perished since Csánki's work was published.<sup>9</sup> Although the NA HNA Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary (DA-DP)<sup>10</sup> makes the viewing of the pictures of the seals easier, for which the researchers of medieval history should be truly grateful, the search functions are only indirectly suitable for collecting seals.<sup>11</sup> For the time

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tographed Szelényi, Károly. Budapest, 2001.; Solymosi, László, *Írásbeliség és társadalom az Árpád-korban: diplomatikai és pecsétani tanulmányok*. Budapest, 2006.; Bertényi, Iván, *A címertan reneszánsza: tanulmányok*. Budapest, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> For example: Balogh, Jolán, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*. Budapest, 1966.; Lövei, Pál, "Sokpecsétetes oklevelek a 14–15. századi Magyarországon", = *Ars Hungarica* 39, No. 2., 2013, 137–144.; *Megpecsételt történelem: középkori pecsétek Esztergomból*. Ed.: Hegedűs, András. Esztergom, 2000.; Bodor, Imre, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink I. Az Árpád-ház pecsétjei", = *Turul* 74, 2001, 1–20. and Bodor, Imre, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink II. Egyházi és világi pecsétek", = *Turul* 75, 2002, 11–22.; Bodor, Imre – Fügedi, Erik – Takács, Imre, *A középkori Magyarország főpapi pecsétjei a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportjának pecsétmásolat-gyűjteménye alapján*. Budapest, 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Hereinafter: NA HNA

<sup>6</sup> Takács, Imre, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei – Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest, 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Kurecskó, Mihály, Takács, Imre: *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei. Corpus sigillorum Hungariae medievales I.* = *Turul* 86, 2013, 77–79. (Review)

<sup>8</sup> Csánki, Dezső, *A Magyar Királyi Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Osztályában őrzött pecsétek mutatója*. Budapest, 1889.

<sup>9</sup> The best example for this are the seal index of Woiwode Transylvanian and that of Banus Machoviensis Miklós Újlaki. In the index from the period between 1434 and 1458 there are 12 seals. Out of these there are only 4 pieces left today in their original form. Or we can mention the destroyed archive of the Hédervári family.

<sup>10</sup> NA HNA Diplomatic Archive and Diplomatic Photocollection

<sup>11</sup> In the database we can search only to the characteristics of the charters, not directly to the seals.

being, pictures of diplomas kept outside of NA HNA are available only in black and white photograph format and the analysis of the seals, primarily that of those kept abroad, require field trips to archives abroad. However, it is not possible to conduct a comprehensive research without collecting and analysing all seals available for a given topic.

It makes the researchers' work even more difficult that there are no available indices regarding seals kept in foreign archives. This is most likely the reason why the seal of Queen Consort Isabel, the wife of King Ladislaus V was left out from the seal catalogue mentioned above.<sup>12</sup> It is impossible to conduct an analysis of the seal usage of the Master of Treasury by relying on the database. For instance we know of a case where none of the treasurer's twelve seals are kept in the collection of the NA HNA.<sup>13</sup>

I faced these problems while putting together the seal index of the Archív mesta Košice,<sup>14</sup> studying the correspondence of magnates written after the death of Ladislaus V, and while collecting material on the seal usage of János Perényi, Master of the treasury.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned above, no such seal index has been made yet, and there is no analogy for the examination of the seal usage of a secular dignity.

I wrote my MA thesis about the career of János Perényi and in the scope of my PhD research I am working on a detailed elaboration of this thesis. During Erasmus studies in 2012<sup>16</sup> I visited the Slovakian cities that were under the authority of the Master of the Treasury in the Middle Ages and collected the coloured photocopies of all of Perényi's published letters.<sup>17</sup> Completing this work with the analysis of poly-sigillic diplomas I created the seal index of the Treasurer. In the period between 1424 and 1458 altogether 33 of his seal imprints can be identified.<sup>18</sup> While conducting this research it became clear to me that Perényi only used 4 different seals during his whole life.<sup>19</sup> With the help of a timeline,

<sup>12</sup> Novák, Ádám, "Izabella királyné pecsétjei", = *Turul* (under publication).

<sup>13</sup> The NA HNA do not keep any charters from Master of the treasury János, Rozgonyi.

<sup>14</sup> 6 month archival internship in the Archív mesta Košice (AmK) by the Campus Hungary scholarship.

<sup>15</sup> Novák, Ádám, "15. századi pecséthasználat id. Perényi János tárnokmester pecsétjeinek tükrében", In. *VIII. Szegedi Medieviztika Doktorandusz Konferencia tanulmánykötete* (under publication).

<sup>16</sup> 2 semester study program at the University of Prešov – Erasmus LLP.

<sup>17</sup> Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy (AhmB), Štátny archív v Prešove, Pobočka Prešov (ŠAP PP), Štátny archív v Prešove, Pobočka Bardejov (ŠAP PB), Štátny archív v Bratislave Pobočka Trnava (ŠAB PT)

<sup>18</sup> Novák, 15. századi pecséthasználat.

<sup>19</sup> Examples: 1st NA HNA Diplomatic Archive (Hereinafter: DA) 11 470. 2nd DA 12 937. 3rd DA 70 241. 4th DA 70 900.

which can be found in the supplement of this paper, I illustrated the changes occurring in the use of these seals.<sup>20</sup> The form, content and character of the published documents do not show any specific order. We can find every type of seal on all the following document types: missilis, judgment letter, direct order and poly-sigillic diploma. He continuously held the office of the treasurer from 1439.<sup>21</sup> Since he seems that Perényi returned to the use of two specific seals from time to time we cannot talk about forgery or the theft of seals. However, in a certain period he only used one type, thus some consistency can be observed here. The question is whether this can be viewed as an individual case, or rather a common phenomenon, and whether we can find an analogy similar to this. The investigation of this analogy, however, requires a separate research.

“The first step of collecting the unrevealed and unpublished noble seals, seal rings [...] is evidently the processing of the so-called poly-sigillic diplomas, which [...] requires a relatively small effort and promises the greatest results” – states Pál Lövei in his typological research regarding poly-sigillic diplomas.<sup>22</sup> The significance of the diplomas in studying political history had long been realized by Bernát Lajos Kumorovitz: “Thus the trustee seal diplomas enlighten the struggle between sovereign authority and the intentions of the orders.”<sup>23</sup> Being true to his word Kumovitz started collecting such diplomas. The significance of these diplomas from the perspective of social history was highlighted by Pál Engel in his book on archontology: “We mainly find aristocrats and noblemen in most of the documents, [...] who, for some reason, [...] had such a great political power that they could occasionally or regularly participate in the counsels of dignitaries.”<sup>24</sup> Besides, poly-sigillic diplomas could be contracts, arrangements, enactments, invitations, often donations, and can also be seen as important diplomatic relics due to their high level of elaboration.

Despite all that, their collection, listing and analysis have not been carried out. Of course essays have been written on single diplomas,<sup>25</sup> but an analysis

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<sup>20</sup> See at the 1. supplement.

<sup>21</sup> Engel, Pál, “Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457”, In: *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV.* Budapest, 2003.; Novák, 15. századi pecséthasználat.

<sup>22</sup> Lövei, Sokpecsétés oklevelek, 2013. 137–138.

<sup>23</sup> Kumorovitz, A magyar pecséthasználat, 1993. 83.

<sup>24</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.

<sup>25</sup> For examples: Csánki, Dezső, “Harmincpecsétés oklevél 1511-ből”, = *Turul* 5, No. 1–2, 1887, 1–11. and 49–59.; Szentpétery, Imre, “Hédervári, Imre 1447-iki felmentő levele”, = *Turul* 20, No. 4, 1902, 153–165.; Lövei, Pál, “Az ország nagyjainak és előkelőinek 1402. évi oklevelén függő pecsétek”, In: Neumann, Tibor – Rácz, György (ed.), *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére.* Budapest–Piliscsaba, 2009. 149–182.; Engel, Pál – Lövei, Pál, “Sokpecsétés oklevelek 1323-ból és 1328-ból”, In: *Bardoly, István – László, Csaba (ed.) Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára: Tanulmányok.* Budapest, 1998. 133–148.; Novák, Ádám,

processing all diplomas concerning a given period is yet to be made. However, such works are particularly suitable for examining seal usage and by relying on them the secular and spiritual seal index of a given period can also be made. Or to be more precise the data gained this way can form the basis for examining the seals on diplomas. Listing diplomas should not cause any problem; by applying different search modes when using the database of NA HNA DA–DP and by comparing these research results the results with the relevant published literature a nearly complete list can be put together in a fairly short time. After this process, however, the researcher has to face numerous difficulties. A significant number of letters are only available in foreign archives, thus collecting them is time and money consuming. The identification of the seals is not always so simple either, since for example no catalogue has been made concerning the era between 1439 and 1457.

### THE RESEARCH PROJECT

For my research I have chosen a period, which is interesting and diverse from the perspective of politics, social history and sigillography. After the death of both King Sigismund and King Albert the previously commonly accepted order changed, and according to my hypothesis this can be observed in seal usage as well. But to prove this hypothesis first we have to get acquainted with the available seals. It is a peculiarity of this era that a vast number of poly-sigillic diplomas were issued, mostly during the civil war. Classic poly-sigillic diplomas (privilegial, parchment, ruler and dignitaries as well as envoys of the counties) are, however, still too rare to lead us to an adequate result. That is why I extended the scope of my research to the so called multi-sigillic diplomas. These diplomas contain the seals of at least three people, excluding monarchs. The letters issued by counties do not fall into this category. I adjusted the time frame of my research to that of Pál Engel's archontology, so in other words its end date is 1457.<sup>26</sup> The reason for this is that with the death of King Ladislaus V and then the election of King Matthias this period came to an end, and a new era started which introduced fixed rules in the practice of issuing this type of diplomas. Besides we know from the work of Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz that tutelary seals

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“Levelek Budáról. Az országnagyok levelei a városoknak V. László halála után”, In. Gál, Judit – Péterfi, Bence – Vadas, András – Kranzieritz, Károly (ed.) *Miccae Mediaevales III. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a magyar középkorról és Európáról*. Budapest, 2013. 153–166.

<sup>26</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.

quickly disappeared from the diplomas of King Matthias.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, no catalogue has been made so far which would collect the seals of this period.

The primary aim of my research is to put together a critical register of multi- and poly-sigillic diplomas. The number of the diplomas which meet the above mentioned criteria is 65. Based on the works of András Kubinyi<sup>28</sup> and Pál Engel<sup>29</sup> I categorized them in 62 different scores. In each description I not only provide the essential characteristics of the given diploma, such as the date and place of its issue, HA score and content, but also the place where it is currently kept, its score yonder and all details regarding publications on the given diploma. I also describe the external aspects of the diplomas, touching upon the identification of the seals attached to them. I have already prepared the main structure of the register, but I have only partially collected the data so far. There is no point in publishing this non-complete list, until the end of the research I must unfortunately set it aside.

My second goal is indexing the seals of the diplomas I have examined either in their original, or in a photographic form. In the index I am going to present the seals in the order of the owners who issued them and I provide a bibliographic compass regarding their description and publication. I consider it important to make every item visible, even if the seal on the diploma has not survived, or its photo is not available for publication. That is why in such cases I look for analogies in the database of the HNA OL DA. It is already evident that in certain cases no analogies can be found. My intention is to collect such diplomas and publish them separately with photographs.

And finally I also intent to make a supplement for Pál Engel's archontology. It is a proof of his thoroughness that I have found only a handful of items in the whole work which require modification. However, I am able to add 39 further documents to the sources shown in one chapter of his book entitled "Peerage and dietary envoys". Based on the method of the work quoted above I could also provide additional information on the prosopography of the people mentioned in the diplomas.

Later I am going to include all of these in a digital database. The reason for this is to make further researches easier and that in my opinion the pictures of seals can be used best in digital form. Another unnegligible factor is that the cost of printing the pictures of seals in usable quality matches that of the expanses of creating a database.

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<sup>27</sup> Kumorovitz, Lajos Bernát, *Mátyás király pecsétjei*. Budapest, 1932.

<sup>28</sup> Kubinyi, András, "Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében", = *Századok* 122, 1988, 147–213.

<sup>29</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.



The basis of my research was the archontology of Pál Engel. At first I tried to look up the original versions of the secondary sources referred to in this book. Then I conducted a research in the database of the NA HNA DA–DP by giving the seal number and the names of monarchs and dignitaries. Finally I looked through the original diplomas indexed under the title “Dignitaries”.

The number of diplomas collected this way is 65. Concerning their form there are 32 privilege,<sup>30</sup> 23 patens<sup>31</sup> and 10 missilis letters.<sup>32</sup> I could examine only some of the seals thoroughly. Other than the database of the NA HNA I have made examinations in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, in the archives of Pozsony, (Bratislava, Slovakia), Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Romania) and Sopron, in the archiepiscopal archives of Veszprém as well as in the Primate archives of Esztergom. The requested photocopies of the poly-sigillic diplomas kept in the archive of Bártfa (Bardejov, Slovakia) have not arrived yet and I wish to examine the material kept in Körmöcbánya and Lőcse (Kremnica and Levoča, Slovakia) 2014 in separate research trips. Thanks to Pál Lővei I was able to survey the seal material of two diplomas out of the five which are kept in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. I could examine these based on the black and white photocopies made by Pál Engel, however, their contents have not yet been fit into the statistics hereunder. By winning a scholarship I will be able to study the diplomas kept in the Arhiv Republike Slovenije in Ljubljana in the summer of 2015.

The seals of Polish monarchs and dignitaries are not included in the statistics, and neither are six further documents which contain the seals of county envoys, gentries and such persons with whom Jan Jiskra had signed contracts. So far I have been able to describe 49 diplomas and the seal material of 35 of these were included in the index. The seals of 3 towns, 61 individuals – out of which 17 are spiritual persons– and also that of the national council have been indexed. Altogether I have worked with 175 seal imprints and I could identify 97 different items.

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<sup>30</sup> DP 258 081., DA 39 290., DP 289 005., DA 39 291., DP 289 004., DP 289 127., DA 13 554., DP 289 006., DP 289 009., DP 287 160., DP 287 161–2., DP 258 346–7., DA 39 293., DP 258 234., DP 271 267., DP 250 168., DP 287 192., DP 250 001., DP 270 290., DA 14 379., DA 14 405., DA 63 157., DP 287 198., DA 94 480., DP 287 204., DP 203 028., DA 24 764., DA 15 088. and a diploma from Szentpétery, Hédervári, Imre, 1902, 155.

<sup>31</sup> DA 13 457., DA 13 633., DA 13 647., DA 44 321., DP 249 795., DP 249 997., DP 282 582., DA 107 533., DP 237 766., DP 201 289., DA 55 295., DA 80 828., DA 50 583., DP 270 275., DA 102 498., DA 80 930., DA 73 005., DA 31 664., DP 244 802., DA 81 191., DA 81 190., DP 270 319. és DP 244 825.

<sup>32</sup> DP 239 734., DP 240 862., DP 250 106., DP 213 347., DP 213 348., DA 81 209., DA 81 210., DP 228 791., DP 213 680. és DP 270 334.

## OBSERVATIONS ON SEAL USAGE

With the help of the database created this way I got an insight into some respects of secular seal usage in the late fifteenth century. The aristocracy regarded the monarchs' seal usage as an example in every possible way; a phenomenon researchers call "imitatio regis".<sup>33</sup> When the king was using several seals simultaneously<sup>34</sup> so did the dignitaries. During my research on poly-sigillic diplomas I have not come across seals that were used by the dignitaries on judgement letters or mandates. Thus we can separate "juridical" or "official" and "private" seals in the cases of Palatine László Garai<sup>35</sup> and Lord Chief Justice László Pálóci<sup>36</sup>. Their "official" seals were considerably ornamented and their size was also bigger. Based on the seal usage of both small and large chanceries we can presume that the official seals of the dignitaries were kept by their vicarious, and they themselves kept the "private" seals. This could help developing the itinerarium of some of the Great Officers.

The representation of power is one of the less researched areas and can also be observed through seals. Count title granting show the differentiation of the nobility. At the appellation the use of red wax was allowed and we know of five people who used red wax. Despite the fact that the Serbian despot, György Brankovics was only one amongst the greater land owners he managed to put himself before his fellow-nobleman by the adoption of red wax.<sup>37</sup> As former governor, Chief Captain and the greatest landholder in the country, János Hunyadi also obtained the honour of becoming a count, granted by King Ladislaus V, as well as the right to use red wax.<sup>38</sup> Matkó Tallóci,<sup>39</sup> György Kórógyi<sup>40</sup> and Zsigmond Frangepán<sup>41</sup> were also able to use it after the title was granted to them.

<sup>33</sup> Kumorovitz, A magyar pecséthasználat, 1993. 59.; Körmendi, Tamás, "A magyarországi nemzeti címerek kialakulásának kérdéséhez", = *Századok* 143, No. 2, 2009, 391–426. 392.

<sup>34</sup> Kumorovitz, Lajos, Bernát, "A magyar királyi egyszerű- és titkospecsét használatának alakulása a középkorban", In: Miskolczy, Gyula – Károlyi, Árpád – Angyal, Dávid (ed.) *A gróf Klebelsberg Kunó Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve VII.* Budapest, 1937. 69–112.

<sup>35</sup> Official: 13 March 1449. DA 14 234. Private: 17 June 1450. DA 14 379.

<sup>36</sup> Official: 10 December 1453. DL 2180. Private: 13 September 1453. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Allgemeine Urkundenreihe (HHStA AUR) 1453. 09. 13. DP 287 204.

<sup>37</sup> 17 September DA 39 290.

<sup>38</sup> See down below.

<sup>39</sup> As "comes de Cetine". 16 December 1443. Archive Archbishop of Esztergom Acta radicalia 47 1 30. DP 237 766.

<sup>40</sup> As "comes de Castellis". 19 December 1454. DA 81 190.

<sup>41</sup> As "Groff Segniae Weglae et Modrussae". 13 September 1447. Szentpétery, Hédervári, Imre, 1902, 155.

The separation of different branches of the family was quite hard due to the usage of a mutual coat of arms. Dezső Garai from the “Banic” part of the family wanted to differentiate himself from the “Palatinal” side, namely from Miklós Garai and his son, László Garai. That is why the snake with a crown on its head always turns to the left on his seals. We know very little of his funeral ceremony or his building operations, so we can only see his representational efforts in his seal usage. Only a few have survived and we know just two complete seals.<sup>42</sup>

As a result of the research we are able to look for analogies for comparison. As we have seen aristocracy took the ruler as an example in every way. Thus they changed their seals when they gained a new title. János Hunyadi also used different seals as Voivode Transylvanian,<sup>43</sup> as Governor,<sup>44</sup> then as Chief Captain.<sup>45</sup> Choosing him as prime dignitary led to the first change. King Ladislaus V gave him a new coat of arms<sup>46</sup> after Hunyadi resigned from the post of governor, so changing his seal was again obvious. There is another example: in the seal field of Steward László Pálóci his family’s coat of arms can be seen.<sup>47</sup> After naming him Lord Chief of Justice in 1446<sup>48</sup> his new title, *Judex Curie Regie* appears on the circumscription of his seal.<sup>49</sup> Yet János Perényi did not change his office or his rank.

There were only a few dignitaries who could keep their duties during and after the civil war as well. One of them was the Banus Machoviensis László Garai, who was expelled though by King Vladislas I, but continued calling himself the same way. He was given the title Ban once again after the death of Vladislas.<sup>50</sup> However, he changed his seal at some time before 1445.<sup>51</sup> He held the office of the Palatine of Hungary after 1447.<sup>52</sup>

His fellow Banus, Miklós Újlaki, who held the title of Voivode of Transylvania at the same time, also changed his seal at the turn of 1444<sup>53</sup> and 1445.<sup>54</sup> He

<sup>42</sup> 10 October 1408. DA 9431. and 19 December 1420. DA 79 650.

<sup>43</sup> 8 February 1445. DA 50 583.

<sup>44</sup> 17 June 1450. DA 14 379.

<sup>45</sup> 19 December 1454. DA 81 191.

<sup>46</sup> 1 February 1453. DA 24 762.

<sup>47</sup> 17 September 1439. DA 39 290.

<sup>48</sup> First mention from 9 June 1446. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>49</sup> 15. July 1456. AmK. *Collectio Schwartzbachiana* 279. DP 270 319.

<sup>50</sup> First time between 1431–1441, second time between 1445–47. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>51</sup> 17 September 1439. DA 39 290. or 5 January 1440. DP 262 222. and 1445. DA 64 766.

<sup>52</sup> Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>53</sup> 23 September 1444. DA 102 491.

<sup>54</sup> 8 February 1445. DA 80 828.

added an angel holding a shield to the catchet he inherited. This heraldic trick was introduced in Hungary by him. Presumably a radical turn in politics could have been behind his seal change but proving this requires further investigation. Still it is clear that the two dignitaries' seal renewal synchronizes with the method mentioned above, regarding János Perényi.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from János Perényi, Miklós Újlaki was the only dignitary who held the same office throughout the examined period.<sup>56</sup> He produced a massive amount of diplomas in the period and 56 seal imprints can be identified out of these. That is why I made an almost complete seal index of Miklós Újlaki as an analogy. These 56 seals clearly show that he used six different moulds. Four of these can be seen as private seals he used on poly-sigillic diplomas, missilis letters and orders. I made a timeline concerning his seal usage.<sup>57</sup> One of these four is his seal-ring.<sup>58</sup> He was using only this and his third round-shaped seal at the same time, the others were used in consequent timeline, never permanently. Two of his juridical seals can be easily separated from the others.<sup>59</sup> He was using one of them at the time of the congregation at Somogyvár between May and July, 1444.<sup>60</sup> The other he used as a colleague of Ban János Korógyi in the Osijek courts in 1453–1454.<sup>61</sup> It is distinctively noticeable from the data that he never used this two seals on poly-sigillic diplomas.

## SUMMARY

I believe I was able to point out in my paper that seal usage in the fifteenth century is worth researching. In case of late medieval monarchs differentiation in seal usage is very clear. As opposed to the secular seal usage, that of the monarchs has already have been processed almost completely. In the work of Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz the chapter concerning the late-medieval period only provided an outline of the main tendencies. In excuse of Bernát Kumorovitz he could not have done otherwise since collecting and analysing seals is not an easy task even in the circumstances of the 21st century. On the other hand the work flatters political historians, art historians and social historians with interesting findings. But a comprehensive synthesis cannot be done without complete seal indices. To

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<sup>55</sup> See in the 1. supplement.

<sup>56</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.

<sup>57</sup> See at the 2. supplement

<sup>58</sup> See at the 2. supplement No. 4.

<sup>59</sup> See at the 3. supplement

<sup>60</sup> See at the 3. supplement No. 6.

<sup>61</sup> See at the 3. supplement No. 5.

achieve this cooperation between archives and those who study sphragistics would be crucial. Until this comes to reality the collection of poly-sigillic diplomas could be sensible. My far-gone research makes possible the investigation of a particular period. According to this we could point out that while crystal clear rules cannot be set up regarding seal usage in the era, tendencies surely can. It is evident that the seal usage of János Perényi is not unique. At the turn of 1444 and 1445 many dignitaries felt the need to reflect the political changes in their seals.

The analogies mentioned as examples do not reflect that anybody had returned to the use of a former seal. However, the representation of power through seals was unquestionably important in the period. We have seen several examples to the importance of using red wax. János Perényi is also known for ascribing great significance to power representation. His tombstone announces that he was the Master of the Treasury in the reign of both King Sigismund and King Albert. Besides, the symbol of the Order of the Dragon and that of the Order of the Jar of Aragon appear on the tombstone, together with the insignium of the English Lancaster House, the SS chain.<sup>62</sup> Despite its crowdedness, the red marble raised to honour Perényi's memory for eternity intended to propagate his loyalty to the two monarchs even after his death.

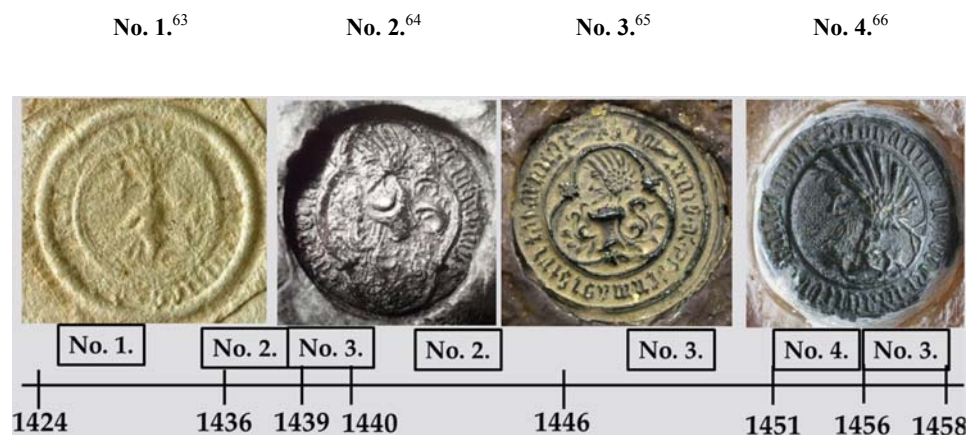
However, the question still remains: what did Perényi want to represent to the world through his seals? As I had already pointed out in a previous paper, it could have had something to do with his political engagement after 1445. However, this can only be proved by the examination of written sources which shall be a task of the near future.

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<sup>62</sup> Bárány, Attila, "A fejedelmi lovagrendek hatása a magyar bárói társadalomban" In: Papp, Klára – Püski, Levente (ed.) *A magyar arisztokrácia társadalmi sokszínűsége, változó értékek és életviszonyok*. Debrecen, 2013, 16–20. 18.

## SUPPLEMENTS

## 1. supplement: Timeline of János Perényi's seal usage



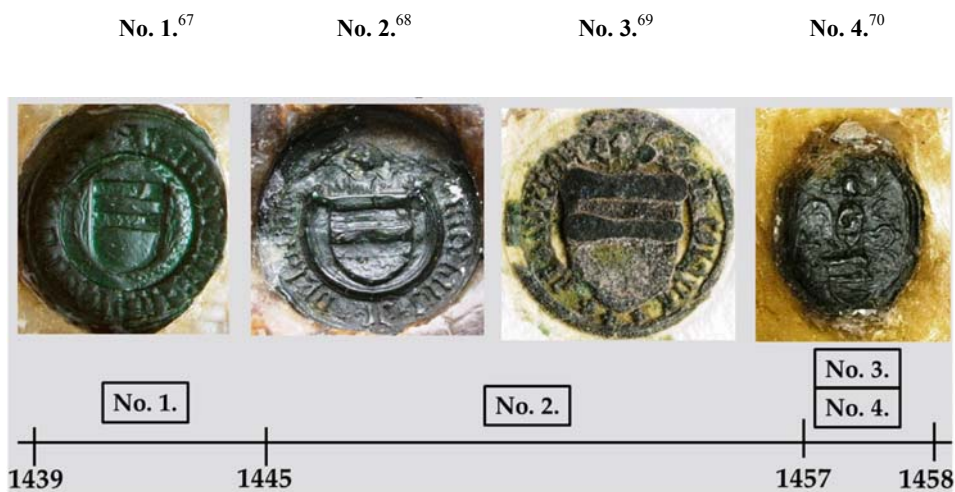
<sup>63</sup> 31 January 1424. DA 11 470.

<sup>64</sup> 29 June 1440. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie dok. perg. nr. 5581. DP 289 006. This photo is taken of black-and-white photocopies, which were ordered by Pál Lövei.

<sup>65</sup> 15 March 1439. AhmB Mesto Bratislava Listiny No. 1092. DP 239 718.

<sup>66</sup> 20 September 1452. DA 70 900.

## 2. supplement: Timeline of Miklós Újlaki's private seal usage



<sup>67</sup> 23 June 1442. DA 13 683.

<sup>68</sup> 14 September 1454. DA 102 837.

<sup>69</sup> 2 May 1457. DA 93 277.

<sup>70</sup> 7 April 1456. DA 24 764.

## 3. supplement: Misklós Újlaki's "juridical" seals

No. 5.<sup>71</sup>No. 6.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> 26 October 1453. DA 81 112. Újlaki – or his familial – used this kind of seal in the court of Banus Machoviensis.

<sup>72</sup> 21 June 1444. DA 103 601. Újlaki – or his familial – used this kind of seal in congregation for Somogy and Verőce counties between 1444 May and July.



## ENGLISH CHIVALRIC INSIGNIA IN HUNGARY\*

In my former researches I have been seeking to explore the how the mainstream developments of later medieval Western European aristocracy affected Hungarian higher nobility, especially in the field of representation and status, through the medium of the usage of the insignia of monarchical orders, dynastic devises, liveries, emblems, badges. The paper investigates the progress of status consciousness in the spheres of material culture and way of living. Prime focus is given to iconographic evidence, for instance, coats of arms on tombstones. A major issue is how and in what way Hungarian nobles started to follow Western European patterns, shedding light to different models of self-representation. The roots of the change in self-consciousness and behavioural development can be traced back to royal visits to Western European courts, mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where members of entourages spent several weeks on missions in courts from Westminster to Paris.

The point to start out from is the Töketerebes tombstone (present-day Trebišov, Slovakia, Roman Catholic church) of Master of the Treasury János Perényi (from the family's Terebes branch, †1458), where an SS chain – the devise of the Plantagenet and later the Lancastrian dynasty – is to be seen around the blazon. The highly prestigious emblem is not the only illustrious knightly badge carved on the gravestone: the not less esteemed Aragonian insignium of the Order of the Jar is also depicted (a jar, hanging on a binaural stole with three lilies with the inscription: “ma(r)ia ora p(ro) nob(is)”, on a tape of the upper curve of the stole).<sup>1</sup> The badges of highly esteemed chivalrous fraternities – of which the

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<sup>1</sup> Son of Imre, Secret Chancellor from the Terebes branch, *aulicus*: Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. I–XII. (1387–1425) Coll. Elemér Mályusz – Iván Borsa – Norbert C. Tóth – Tibor Neumann – Bálint Lakatos. [Charters of the age of King Sigismund] Budapest, 1951–2013. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 1., 3–4., 22., 25., 27., 32., 37., 39., 41., 43., 49. and 52.) [hereinafter ZsO] V. nr. 1170.; Csergheő and Csoma wrongly attributes the SS

English, Lancastrian SS-collar is to be discussed here<sup>2</sup> – testify that a Hungarian baron of the Luxemburgian period was aware of the mainstream developments of European knightly culture and baronial representation, and was able to make benefit of them in his status consciousness. The fact that a Hungarian nobleman had highest honours of Western European courts carved on his tombstone makes one assume that the links between the knightly societies of Western and Central Europe were closer as we had formerly thought.

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insignia to the Sword order of the Cyprian Lusignan Kings. Csergheő, Géza – Csoma, József, „A Perényiek középkori síremlékei” [The medieval tombs of the Perényi], = *Archaeológiai Értesítő* (Új folyam), [hereinafter AE] 8, 1888, 299–303. 300.; Csergheő, Géza – Csoma, József, *Alte Grabdenkmäler aus Ungarn*. Budapest, 1890. [further, Csergheő – Csoma] 39–46. Fig. 41.; Engel, Pál – Lövei, Pál – Varga, Livia, „Zsigmond-kori bárói síremlékeinkről” [On Sigismund-age baronial tombs in Hungary], = *Ars Hungarica*, 11, 1983, 21–48. 36–37. Table X. Here the authors identify it with the Cyprian insignia, nevertheless, they describe exactly the typical accessory of the English SS chain, the small slashed edged quadratic plate, hanging on a three-hunk and with a gemstone in the middle. In 1986 Árpád Mikó, though questionably, still identified it with the Lusignan-order of Cyprus. Mikó, Árpád, „Jagelló-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről” [On Renaissance tombstones in Jagiellonian Hungary], = *Ars Hungarica* [hereinafter AH] 14, 1986, 97–113. 97. Lövei (and Livia Varga) in 1987 revised their standpoint and correctly identified it with the English SS chain. Lövei, Pál, „Síremlékszobrászat” [Funeral sculpture], In. *Művészet Zsigmond király korában*. [Art in the age of Sigismund] Eds. László Beke – Ernő Marosi – Tünde Wehli. Budapest, 1987. I–II. [hereinafter Művészet] II. 277–303. 297. Fig. 53. Verneikronberger, Emil, *Magyar középkori síremlékek*. Budapest, 1939. 41. (He does not mention any insignia). Balogh, Jolán, „Későrenaissance kőfaragó műhelyek. I.” [Late Renaissance stone masonry centres], = AH, 2, 1974, 27–58. 34. Fig. 1.; Feld, István – Cabello, Juan, *A füzéri vár*. [Füzér Castle] Miskolc, 1980. 41.; *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*. [Hungarian art 1300–1470] I–II. Ed. Marosi Ernő. Budapest, 1987. [hereinafter MMűv], I. 588., 694. II. Fig. 1680.; Lövei, Pál, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria, Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*. [Introductory chapters to the catalogue of medieval Hungarian funeral art] Academic Doctoral Thesis. I–II. & Appendix. Budapest, 2009. [<http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/> – January 19, 2012.] [hereinafter Lövei, Posuit] I. 65. 83., 462., 478. Fig. 273–276. Gervers-Molnár, Vera, *Sárospataki síremlékek*. [Sárospatak tombs] Budapest, 1983. Fig. 42.; *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Zsigmond korában, 1387–1437*. [Art and culture in the age of Sigismund] Kiállításkatalógus. Ed. Imre Takács Imre. Budapest – Luxembourg, 2006. [hereinafter Sigismundus] 348. Cat. nr. 4.52. (Pál Lövei); Luxová, Viera, „Memento mori, formy náhrobnej skulptúry”, In. *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtarného umenia*. Red. Dusan Buran et al. Bratislava, 2003. 325–33. 326. 666., Cat. nr. 2.2.7. Also see Homolka, Jaromír, *Gotická plastika na Slovensku*. Bratislava, 1972. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Boulton, D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Mediaeval Europe, 1325–1520*. New York, 1987. 484–86. More recently see: Fletcher, Doris, „The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformations Down the Ages”, In. *The Age of Richard II*. Ed. James Gillespie. Stroud, 1997. 191–204.; Ward, Michael, „The Livery Collar: Politics and Identity in Late-Medieval England”, In. L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century XIII. Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*. Woodbridge, 2014. 41–61.;

On his visit to England in 1416, King Sigismund Luxemburg of Hungary, also King of the Romans received the Order of the Garter from Henry V, King of England, which was to have the Anglo-Imperial, anti-Valois alliance, contracted in Canterbury a couple of months afterwards, sealed. The Saint George Day service of the Order of the Garter of April in Windsor was also held out of tradition. The feast of the saint was postponed onto May 24 just in order to make it possible for Henry to admit Sigismund as Knight of the Garter.<sup>3</sup> There was even a new statute made to prorogue the feast day, and it seems it was further delayed because of Sigismund's arrival only on May 1. In the Chapel of St. George, Windsor Sigismund was made Knight of the Garter and received the insignia of the Order – which the King consciously sought to wear in all his public audiences.<sup>4</sup> At the ceremony Sigismund sat on the right of the King of England, at the stall held for Henry V as Prince of Wales, still being empty up to that time.<sup>5</sup> Sigismund was also given a present of extraordinarily high esteem: the SS

<sup>3</sup> „Solempnia sancti Georgii, hucusque ob ipsius reverenciam et adventum dilata.” *Gesta Henrici Quinti. The Deeds of Henry the fifth*. Eds. F. Taylor – J. S. Roskell, Oxford, 1975. 132.

<sup>4</sup> „Inter que solempnia idem supremus princeps imperator prius electus et admissus in fraternitatem militum [...] installacionis insignia receperunt.” *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 133. „Instante quoque festivitate Sancti Georgii Martyris, imperator huic festivitati interfuit, ubi eligitur in fraternitatem Militiae de Gartere, et debitis insigniis installatur.” Capgrave, John, *Liber de illustribus Henricis*. Ed. F. C. Hingeston. London, 1869. (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores. Rolls Series [hereinafter RS], 7) 118.; „Ipse eciam Imperator in Fraternitatem sive societatem militarem de la Gartiere, in quam nobiles, secundum sua in actibus bellicis merita, promoventur, tam in sui honoris incrementum, quam in ejusdem fraternitatis decus immensum, frater eligitur, & assensu regio ordinatur.” *Thomae de Elmham Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis*. Ed. Thomas Hearne. Oxford, 1727. (i.e. the so-called Pseudo-Elmham) 76.; „Rex autem [...] ducens eum ad festum sancti Georgij, honorans illic eum et tante fraternitatis titulo et religionis illius nobili indumento: signumque regalle imposuit collo suo quod imperator exposit semper gessit in omni conventu publico vel actu notorio.” Walsingham, Thomas, *Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani. 1406–1420*. Ed. V.H. Galbraith, Oxford, 1937. 100. „Fuitque idem Imperator in Anglia [...] et factus est consors et sodalis collegii Sancti Georgii Wyndeshor.” [...] „Sigismundus Romanorum et Henricus Anglie et Francie Reges temporibus istis maxima familiaritate summa mutuaque beneuolencia inter se complixi sunt, ita quod in fraternitatem Militum Garterii Sigismundus ascribi peteret, et ascriptus est.” *The Latin Brut*, In. Kingsford, C. L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford, 1913. 287. 328.; „Windsoriae nobilis equestris ordinis Garterii sodales utrique dicebantur.” *Vita Henrici Quinti Roberto Redmanno auctore*, In. *Memorials of Henry the Fifth, king of England*. Ed. C. A. Cole. London, 1858. 49.; „Sigismundus Romanorum & Henricus Angliae & Franciae reges temporibus istis maxima familiaritate, summa mutuaque benevolentia inter se complexi sunt, ita ut in fraternitatem militum Garterii rex Augustissimus Sigismundus ascribi peteret & ascriberetur”. *Titi Livii Foro-juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti regis Angliae*. Ed. Thomas Hearne. Oxford, 1716. 24.; „In so much the Emperor desired to be admitted in the order of the Garter...”: *First English Life of king Henry the Fifth*, by the Translator of Livius. Ed. C. L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1911. 69.

<sup>5</sup> „...at the posessyon the kynge went a-pone the upper-moste syde of the emperowre, and soo alle the masse tyme he stode a-bove the emperoure. Ande at the mete the kyng sate on the ryght syde of the emperoure”. „Gregory”: *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth*

collar of the Lancastrian dynasty, which was never attested to a ruler of a foreign country.<sup>6</sup> The King of Hungary was absolutely aware of the political capital of the award, he received the collar upon his own wish.<sup>7</sup> He was never reluctant to wear the insignia of the Order of the Garter and the Lancastrian collar.<sup>8</sup> When Sigismund returned to the Council of Constance, in order to signify that he was acting in terms of his new English alliance, he flaunted of his membership of the Order of the Garter: he was wearing the insignia of the Order together with the SS-collar – as was reported to King Henry by John Forester, the envoy placed in the company of the King of the Romans, probably together with Lord Tiptoft.<sup>9</sup> What struck the king's correspondent and surprised all Europe, we could say, was that he was wearing the SS-collar and the Garter-insignia, „a glad syghte for alle your lyge men to se”.<sup>10</sup> He was deliberate in wearing the insignia at all public ceremonies afterwards.<sup>11</sup> He esteemed the honour so much that he ever hereafter wore the collar in all assemblies. There are expenses listed in the Wardrobe mandate for the budget of the year of 1423 for Sigismund's Order of the Garter garments, *robes d'ermine*, and garter belts with golden letters decorated. The sum proposed for 1423 totals 42 pounds 10 shillings.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have information about any expenses proposed for the SS-insignium, probably because it was a once and for all donation, a chain made

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*Century*. Ed. John Gairdner. London, 1876. (Camden Society, n. s. 17) 113.; Beltz, George F., *The Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*. London, 1841. lvi.; lvii. „sätte in their stalles all the solemnitee of the feast”: Hall, Edmund, *Chronicle containing the history of England during the reign of Henry IV and the succeeding monarchs*. London, 1809. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II. 1381–1422. Ed. T. H. Riley, London, 1864. II. 316. Also see Rymer, Thomas, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae*. I–XX. London, 1704–35. IX. 434.

<sup>7</sup> „... at his desyre”: *Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 376. „he was electe and chosen to be a broder of the garter, whiche he toke and received gladly, and ware it ever after”. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*. Together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century. Ed. J. R. Lumby. I–IX. (RS, 61) London, 1865–1886. VIII. Appendix. 552.

<sup>8</sup> „When the French saw him bear the King of England's device, they were extremely vex'd ... The emperor at his publick entry into Konstanz, was pleased to wear the Collar.” Goodwin, Thomas, *The History of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of England*. London, 1704. 145.

<sup>9</sup> February 2, 1417: ZsO. VI. nr. 68.; The whole report is published in Rymer, *Foedera*, The Hague Edn. 1739–45, IV/2. 192.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Jacob, E. F., *Henry V and the Invasion of France*. London, 1947. 115.

<sup>12</sup> „pro ermyns pro rege et Imperatore pro eadem libarata... pro ccc. garteriis cum literis aureis pro dictis rege et Imperatore”: *Letters and Papers, Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, during the reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*. Ed. Joseph Stevenson. London, 1861. 384.

of golden SS-letters, which was not to be renewed in years' time as it was to be done with the Garter robes.

In return, Henry V, the King of England might have been made member of the Sigismundian Order of the Dragon in 1416, although there is no data to justify this, apart from his inquisition post mortem, mentioning „dragon emblems marked with the Cross”.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the figure of the dragon is also to be found amongst the badges of the Lancastrians, which might lead us to assume further relations between the Luxemburgians and England. The Lancastrians are related to have a triper [a three-legged stand] in the shape of a *dragon volant* with a crowned damsel sitting on a green ground, which must have most probably been given to John of Gaunt, father of King Henry IV as a present of plate by his intimate friend, Humphrey de Bohun, the Earl of Hereford.<sup>14</sup> The de Bohun inheritance founded the personal wealth of Henry of Bolingbroke, later to become King Henry IV through his marriage to Hereford's daughter. Henry of Bolingbroke must have also been touched by the spirit of Christian chivalry through his father-in-law's crusader reputation – Humphrey and Henry fought many times together, the father-in-law being the feoffee of the Duke of Lancaster and a retainer deputy captain of the Lancastrian retinue as well, thus, the young prince could have found his spiritual chivalrous leader in the Earl of Hereford.<sup>15</sup> On occasion of the meeting of King Henry V and Sigismund, the King of England could have been already touched by and connected to the de Bohun-origin dragon emblem when he was to learn of Sigismund's Order of the Dragon symbol. Henry V was to feel a commitment to the de Bohun dragon through his mother's – Mary de Bohun – family, of which he wished to signify, and which tie was to be confirmed by the unique present the King gave to Sigismund, the chivalrous badge of his family, the SS collar, which was never attested on to any ruler but the King of Hungary.

Already from the 1390s it is documented that Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the would-be Henry IV wore a

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<sup>13</sup> Lövei, Pál, „A Sárkányrend fennmaradt emlékei”, [The survived relics of the Order of the Dragon] In. Művészet, I. 148–179.

<sup>14</sup> *John of Gaunt's Register*. Vol. I–II. Ed. S. Armitage-Smith. London, 1911. (Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> series, Vol. XX–XXI) Vol. 1372–76: Nr. 1124.

<sup>15</sup> Hereford was the son of William de Bohun, the great Constable of England, one of the most outstanding generals of Edward III in France. He himself was a notable crusader, campaigned in Prussia in 1363 and took part in the 1365 crusade of Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus and in his capture of Alexandria. Goodman, Anthony, *John of Gaunt. The Exercise of Princely Power in 14th-century Europe*. Harlow, 1992. 275. On the marriage see: Holmes, G. A., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in 14th-century England*. Cambridge, 1957. 24.

collar tied by S-letters.<sup>16</sup> The insignium, a chain of 'S' letters originally meant to be a collar. On a portrait of King Henry V of England it is not yet a chain, but attached to the collar of the monarch's garment, that is, the chain of the 'S'-s is the clothes' collar itself.<sup>17</sup>

One of the first iconographic representation of the SS-collar is a portrait of King Richard II, though this is not the „full” SS chain, but one linked with two 'S' letters along with other sorts of buckles.<sup>18</sup> King Richard cannot wear the chain as a way of legacy towards the Lancastrians, since he himself was not of the collateral but of the main Plantagenet line. Nonetheless, he had a most intimate relationship with his uncle, the founder of the house, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, which might be the reason why he was formally received in the fraternity of the house of Lancaster. Later on it is automatically the Lancastrian monarch who presides over the association. As Richard II was deposed at the end of his reign and the collateral Lancastrian branch was to be ascended to the throne with Henry IV in 1399, the SS-collar became in a way a symbol of legitimacy, counterposed with the Order of the Garter that was to get closely attached to the main Plantagenet line with King Edward III. In the field of iconographic representations the first is King Henry V that is described with the Lancastrian insignium in his statue on the choir of York Minster.<sup>19</sup> At the

<sup>16</sup> The earliest recorded documentary description appears in the Wardrobe Account of Henry, Earl of Derby, (15 Rich II): 1391: „Pro I Coler auri facti Cum XVIj literis de S ad modum plumarum cum rotulis et scripturis in eisdam cum Signo in toreto ejusdem”. A following one: 1392: „Pro pondere arjenti unius Coleri facti cum Esses rollati”. Knowles, Richard, „Medieval Livery Collars”, In. The Richard III Foundation, [http://www.richard111.com/medieval\\_livery\\_collars.htm](http://www.richard111.com/medieval_livery_collars.htm) – November 30, 2014.; Ward, Livery, 43.

<sup>17</sup> For example: „S-szemekből álló lánc”, [A chain consisting of „S” buckles] In. Sigismundus, 354. Cat. nr. 4.61. (Pál Lövei); Lövei, Pál, „Uralkodói lovagrendek a középkorban, különös tekintettel Zsigmond Sárkányrendjére”, [Monarchical orders in the Middle Ages, with special attention the Sigismund's Order of the Dragon] In. Sigismundus, 250–54. 252. Fig. 9. According to Windecke the gifts of the King of England were pawned immediately in the autumn of 1416 in Bruges: „ein halsbant des koniges von Engelant Gesellschaft, und darain hing ein fürsprang was ein demant costlichen und schon...”: Eberhard Windeckes *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds*. Hrsg. Wilhelm Altmann. Berlin, 1893. 82.; Eberhard Windecke emlékirata Zsigmond királyról és koráról. [Windecke's memories on King Sigismund an his age] Trans. Renáta Skorka. Budapest, 2008. 73. Kovács, Éva, „Gótikus ronde-bosse zománc a budai udvarban”, [Gothic ronde-bosse enamel in the Buda court] = *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 31, 1982, 89–94. 91, Eadem, „Hattyú és strucc: Lancaster és Luxemburgi”, [Swan and ostrich: Lancaster and Luxemburg], = *Építés – Építészettudomány* 12, 1980, 1–4: 231–239. 235. [In. Eadem, *Species Modus Ordo. Válogatott tanulmányok*. [Selected articles] Eds. Mária Verő – Imre Takács. Budapest, 1998. 282–291.] 286.

<sup>18</sup> Painted on a wooden table, unknown artist, c. 1395, Westminster Abbey. Saul, Nigel, *Richard II*. London, 1996. cover.; Marosi, Ernő, *A középkor művészete*. [The art of the Middle Ages] Budapest, 1998. II. 1250–1500. 168. Table 5., 7.

<sup>19</sup> Harriss, G. L. (ed.), *Henry V. The practice of kingship*. Oxford, 1985. cover.

beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the collar is an unquestionable house emblem, it is not to be found only in the effigies and representations of the members of the Lancaster dynasty.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, Henry VI on his most familiar portrait does not even wear any other royal insignia but the SS.<sup>21</sup> It might lead us to assume that the collar was becoming a special treat to denote dynastic legitimacy and the political power of the Lancastrians. Towards the Tudor period it is to be raised as high as the monarchs are not represented without the collar: Henry VII has no portrait where he does not wear the collar, what is more, Henry VIII has several pictures where he is wearing only the SS in his neck. With the SS the Tudors by that time appealed that this was the token of their legitimate succession through the maternal side of the Beaufort-Lancastrian family.<sup>22</sup>

Another representation of the early 1420s shows Henry V not only having the SS around his neck, but the welt of his throne is also decorated with 'S' letters.<sup>23</sup> SS are to signify the only place where the sole legitimate monarch of the House of Lancaster is to sit. 'S' letters also appear on the robe of King Henry IV where he raises his claim to the crown of England. The SS symbolism is to render the dynasty's right to the throne.<sup>24</sup> The one who wears the SS has the right for power. In addition, the 'S' letters did not only denote a Lancastrian emblem, but connected and then unified it with the personal badge of King Henry V, the swan.<sup>25</sup> The swan symbolism can be seen in some of the initials decorating the personal letters of the King: the bend of the starting „Henricus” is shaped by a swan figure. On an outer wall of the Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, in the scene depicting the coronation of the ruler, the throne is upheld by a swan figure. The swan livery, along with the SS one, became closely attached to those politically committed towards the dynasty. The donation of the “liveree del Cigne” was restricted to a narrow circle, and, as was fixed by the Parliament, was only possible on certain peculiar occasions.<sup>26</sup> Henry IV's motto implies sovereignty (*sovereyn*),<sup>27</sup> his sons's one is also formed by an S symbolics: S and S, i.e. “une sanz plus et sovereign”, which had already been used by his father, who saw the „S’ as an embodiment of royal sovereignty. The SS, though its

<sup>20</sup> E.g. the effigy of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Henry V's brother, Canterbury Cathedral. Earle, Peter, *The Life and Times of Henry V*. London, 1972. 74.

<sup>21</sup> National Portrait Gallery, London. Ross, Charles, *The Wars of the Roses*. London, 1982. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, Livery,

<sup>23</sup> In an illuminated codex: „Jean de Galopes offers the French translation of St. Bonaventure's *Vita Christi*”: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 213. f. 1r.

<sup>24</sup> Earle, Henry V, 40–41.

<sup>25</sup> Kovács, Hattyú, 236.

<sup>26</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et petitiones et placita in Parlamento tempore 1278–1532*. I–VI. Ed. J. Strachey et al. London, 1767–1777. III. 477–78.

<sup>27</sup> Lövei, „S-szemekből”, 354.

etymology has several explanations – *souveignez* (remember), or a combination of *saintete* (sanctity), *sagesse* (wisdom), *sapience* (learning), and *seigneurie* (lordship) – however, by the 15<sup>th</sup> century it became equal with *sanctissimus*. King Henry V sought to nurture the nimbus of the sole, sacred king role.<sup>28</sup> Narrative tradition holds that the monarch, the wearer of the SS was of the utmost honour and excellence, who „could have felt the Earth and the Sky as his own”.<sup>29</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Garter is not to be confused with the SS-chain: the latter is not at all the former's attachment. The collar developed in a way that it is not to be seen in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a “complementer” badge of the Garter, yet a special, separate dynastic devise, denoting an even closer, narrower chivalric association. There was a high esprit de corps assigned to those privileged to wear the SS collar – originally referring the retinue of the Dukes of Lancaster – is also highlighted by narrative sources.<sup>30</sup> Although it seems the SS-chain was originally mostly donated together with the award of the Garter, it gradually became a separate livrée of the liveries of the Lancastrians throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, to which the dynasty attributed an immense significance – the rulers wore it openly and it can be detected on several representations of monarchs as well (Henry VI, Richard III). The SS-collar became a livrée particularly attached to the Lancastrians, who sought to have themselves separated from the Plantagenet Order of the Garter. The collar was a peculiar means to denote a commitment towards their own branch, their own Lancastrian house. The wearers of the SS-collar should not be interpreted as members of a mere chivalrous society order. The SS-chain was the dynasty's own institution, which comprised a narrower circle of followers. The wearers of the SS-collar would immediately be distinguished from retainers of other lords wearing the more common livery badges.<sup>31</sup> It was not taken as an emblem of a ceremonial knightly syndicate or a tournament fraternity. Those who wore it, like Sigismund in Constance, wanted to express their political alliance with the English dynasty, symbolizing some sort of political commitment and the peculiar grace they enjoyed from the Crown of England. The donation of the SS chain had mostly political significance: those awarded with it were highly appreciated through some of their loyal acts and received a supreme royal grace by the Lancastrian Crown. The insignium would never become an everyday royal reward, automatically given in large quantities. The number of those elevated to the honour is just over 100 in the period

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<sup>28</sup> Csoma – Csergheő, Perényiek, 296–300. However, several explanations are being suggested for the implication of SS: Sanctus Simplicius, Simplicius and Faustinus martyrs and their followers etc. Knowles, *Medieval*.

<sup>29</sup> *The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394*. Eds. L.H. Hector – B.F. Harvey. Oxford, 1982. 82.

<sup>30</sup> Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, 125.

<sup>31</sup> Ward, *Livery*, 44.



between 1399 and 1509.<sup>32</sup> Those who belonged to this intimate company were by all means faithful followers of the Lancastrian cause, such as the ones assisting Henry IV in his ascension to the throne like Sir William Bagot,<sup>33</sup> or, the true compatriots-in-arms of Henry V, such as Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmorland, Sir Thomas Erpingham and Walter, Lord Fitzwalter.<sup>34</sup> A most striking example is of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who was in fact in Constance and as a manuscript evidence signifies, he met not only King Sigismund but a couple of his company as well, either in the synod, or in their England stay. He is an illustrious follower of the Lancastrian cause, and accordingly wears the livery collar.<sup>35</sup> As opposed to the Lancastrian association of political emphases, the rival House of York was also to have a peculiar, dynastic emblem, that is, a chain of sun-disc, which was not only worn by the members of the York family, but those closely knit followers who excelled in their anti-Lancastrian commitment during the Wars of the Roses.<sup>36</sup>

In my view, the SS-livery, at least until the end of the reign of Henry V, was not something that was given away to foreign monarchs to donate it further to their own knights. The reference referred to by Hagemann and disclosed by Éva Kovács, that is, in 1434 Henry VI gave Sigismund „6 colaria auri, 24 colaria deaurata” and „alia colaria argenti”, does not indicate that these colaria were of the SS-livery. Furthermore, it does not specify that it involved the right to award these colaria further.<sup>37</sup> Thus, it has great importance that the devise, which is closely connected to the dynasty, was received by a Hungarian baron. The SS-chain was to be awarded only those who excelled in the service of the House of Lancaster, and in a way we might propose that János Perényi did a service of high importance to King Henry V himself during his England visit together with King Sigismund in 1416.

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> The effigy of Sir William Bagot, Parish Church, Baginton, Warwickshire. Saul, Table 17.

<sup>34</sup> The effigy of Lord Fitzwalter, Parish Church, Little Dunmow, Essex.

<sup>35</sup> *The Pageant of Richard de Beauchamp, the thirteenth earl of Warwick*, British Library Manuscripts Collection, Cotton MS E. iv. art. 6. f. 17v. He is not only depicted, but the collar itself is mentioned in the text: „the Collar of the Livery of the House of Lancaster”. f. 23r.

<sup>36</sup> George, Duke of Clarence holding a sun-disc chain in his hand. *A pictorial history of the earls of Warwick, printed from the Yorkist roll in possession of the Duke of Manchester*. Ed. William Courthope. London, 1859.; Rous, John, *The Rous Roll*. Ed. Charles Ross. London, 1980. Table 1. On the effigy of Sir Nicholas FitzHerbert or Sir William Harcourt. Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, 136.; 139.; Ward, *Livery*, 45.

<sup>37</sup> Hagemann, Paul, *Die Beziehungen Deutschlands zu England seit dem Vertrage von Canterbury vom 15. August 1416 bis zu Kaiser Sigmunds Ende*. Halle, 1905, 14., 44., 50. cited by Kovács, Hattyú, 235.

The sources highlight in several points Perényi's acts in England and it seems likely that he had good, personal relationship with King Henry V of England, or with other members of the Lancastrian dynasty, who probably also had an influence on whom the King would award the livrée of their House.<sup>38</sup> Perényi might have also formed links with some member of the Lancasters at the synod of Constance, by negotiating with the governors of English foreign policy or with the members of the English synod legation, the king's brothers, John, Duke of Bedford, or, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, or even King Henry's uncle, Henry Beaufort, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester.<sup>39</sup> Perényi could have even had a special personal acquaintance with either King Henry, or one of the prominent members of the House of Lancaster. We would propose that his relationship to one of those Lancastrians present at the Council of Constance dates back to the months preceding the actual visit to England. Perényi might have been a person of great relevance to the English who they wished to grant, perhaps for services he had been doing in preparing the Sigismundian-Lancastrian alliance. Perényi could have been an excellent diplomat as well as a knight of high honours and a real chivalrous figure. His services to the King of Aragon were also rewarded with the Order of the Jar („amprisia jarre”).

János Perényi was quite active in the Sigismundian foreign policy. It is not a surprise that he was a member of the *Societas Draconica* as well. On the tombstone the insignium of the Order of the Dragon also appears. Several donation charters highlight his foreign services – with his numerous retinue – in Western Europe and his diplomatic talent especially regarding the synod of Constance and his workings on ending the schism.<sup>40</sup> (His father, Imre also visited Aachen with Sigismund.<sup>41</sup>) Several members of Sigismund entourage escorted

<sup>38</sup> Albert's donation for his services in „Germanie, Francie, Anglie, Aragonie et alias quamplures regnorum ac mundi partes...”. June 27, 1439: DL 13410. Donation of queen Elizabeth: November 4, 1438: DL 38655.; Others: June 29, 1439: DL 13413.; DL 13414.; February 15, 1438: DL 71976.

<sup>39</sup> Members of the house of Lancaster wore the family insignia, and donated SS chains themselves. John, Duke of Bedford uses the 'S' symbol, in his Book of Hours, his motto appears on 'S' letters. Williams, E. Carleton, *My Lord of Bedford*. London, 1963. 64–65.

<sup>40</sup> Donations for foreign services: April 5, 1439: DL 13334; November 4, 1438: DL 13248. Donation by King Ladislas V, highlighting that was with king not only in Constance but in „Germanie, Francie, Anglie, Aragonie, Lyrgenie, Poloniae ac Bohemie et alias quamplures regnorum et mundi partes”. February 4, 1453: DL 14627. He was also present at Sigismund's coronation in Prague. Mályusz Elemér, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon*. [King Sigismund's rule in Hungary] Budapest, 1984. [hereinafter Mályusz, Zsigmond] 98.

<sup>41</sup> September 8, 1414.: „Peron Emerich”, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigismund. Deutsche Reichstagsakten Ältere Reihe, 1376–1486*. VII–IX. Hrsg. D. Keller. München-Gotha, 1878–87.; X. H. Herre. Gotha 1906.; XI–XII. G. Beckmann. Gotha 1898–1901. [hereinafter DRTA] VII. 249.

the King to Aragon, and were thus awarded the Order of the Jar, but the Plantagenet devise is to be found only on the Perényi tombstone. Even after Sigismund's death the rulers almost swamped Perényi with donations, emphasizing his efforts for the King abroad.

János's brother, István (later on Lord Chief Steward) received the Order of the Jar from King Ferdinand of Aragon, which is depicted on his tombstone (Rudabánya, Calvinist Church, internal eastern side-wall) – next to the Dragon insignium – but there is no sign of the SS, though most probably István might have been member of the retinue of Sigismund on his England visit.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, it is striking, that the tombstone of the most prestigious member of the Perényi family in the period, namely Imre, father of István and János (Secret Chancellor, †1418) does not represent any chivalric insignia, not even that of the Dragon. Though the tombstone – which originally stood in the monastery founded by Imre in Újháza, between Kurityán and Felsőnyárad (now held in Hermann Ottó Museum, Miskolc) – survived only in fragments,<sup>43</sup> those parts, where the insignia should have been placed, that is, most probably on the sides of the helmet, remained intact.<sup>44</sup> We do not know, however, that Imre escorted Sigismund anywhere else apart from the coronation in Aachen and the Council of Constance, and thus, he might not have formed such a relationship with England as his son, or sons were able.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Vernei-Kronberger, Magyar középkori, 30.; Csoma – Csergheő, Alte Grabdenkmäler, 36–39. (They do not write about insignia.) István Rugonfalvi Kiss discovered that it depicts the Aragonese Order of the Jar. R. Kiss, István, „A Rudabányai ev. Ref. Templom czimeres emlékei” [Heraldic monuments in the Rudabánya Church], = *Turul*, 22, 1905, 3: 97–104. A lavalier, in the middle of a chain consisting of small Jars decorated with 3-3 lilies, portraying the Virgin Mary who stands on a crescent and holds Jesus on her right hand and a scepter in the left. From this a griffin hangs on a small chain, which holds a ribbon with the order's motto. Csoma – Csergheő, Alte Grabdenkmäler, 36–39.; Horváth, Henrik, *Zsigmond király és kora*. [King Sigismund and his age] Budapest, 1937. 156., Lövei, Sárkányrend, 154., Cabello – Feld, A Füzeri, 35., 36., 41. Fig. 16.; Engel – Lövei – Varga, Zsigmond-kori bárói, 36–37. Fig 10.; Lövei, Siremléksobrászat, 296. Sz. 52. Kat. sz.; MMűv, I. 588., Fig. II. 1229.; Lövei, Posuit, I. 65. 478.; Fig. 277–278.; Sigismundus, 348–49. Cat. nr. 4.53. (Pál Lövei).

<sup>43</sup> Engel, Pál, „Zsigmond bárói – rövid életrajzok”, In. Művészet, I. 114–130.; 405–58. 438. Czeglédy Ilona, „A kurityáni pálos kolostor”, = *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve*, 25–26. 1986–87 [1988] 211–228. 219., 221. Fig. 20.

<sup>44</sup> Engel – Lövei – Varga, Zsigmond-kori bárói, 35–36., Fig. 9.; Lövei, Siremléksobrászat, 296. Cat. nr. Sz. 51.; Lövei, Posuit., I. 332., 335., 340. Fig. 1115–1117., Cabello – Feld, A füzeri, 35., 36., 41. Fig. 15.

<sup>45</sup> He probably left the synod and returned home in 1415. Novák, Ádám, „A sasember fiai. Egy főúri család és familiája Luxemburgi Zsigmond kíséretében” [The sons of the eagle man. A baronial family in the entourage of King sigismund] In. *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris. Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából*. [Proceedings of a conference on the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Council of Constance] Eds. Attila Bárány – László Pósán. Debrecen, 2014. 385–400. 388.

Unfortunately, the seals that survived do not help us either in examining whether the barons used any insignia besides the representations on tombstones or not. For example, on the private seal of János Perényi from 1424 only the family coat-of-arms, a figure of a bearded male head between eagle wings can be detected.<sup>46</sup> This is the case with all his survived seals, no evidence of any Western insignia can be proved.

I supposed however that further assistance might have been gained from the will of a member of the Pataki sub-branch of the Perényi, Miklós, Lord Marshal (†1428).<sup>47</sup> Documentary evidence has so far not justified that he was with the King's entourage in England, though he, in line with his cousins of the branch of Secret Chancellor Imre, may have alike been in the Constance retinue. In the will he testified that he had certain golden jewellery in pledge "anulos et monilia", worth 1000 golden florins, of which, though the „monilia” is not given further detail, we might propose, based on the very high value, that it referred to a chain, or a number of chains, probably comprising a chivalric one as well. There is further reference to "alijs clenodiis", e.g. three „monilia”, of which, one is certainly pertaining to the Order of the Dragon, „cum uno dracone cruci superposito”, from which it seems justified that the expression was to have been used to denote knightly chains. The other pieces of the three „monilia”, alike pledged in Buda, worth 50 florins, could have just as well referred to the SS chain, or even to that of the Order of the Jar. It is unfortunate that while the chain of the Order of the Dragon is described in great detail – its cross has four „lapides pretiosi” along its arms, with „una dyamas” in the middle, and the „monilium” has „unus saphireus magnus” and several „perles magne” – the other chains are not at all described. However, as far as we do not have evidence on any representation of Miklós Perényi of the Pataki branch, not to speak of his tombstone, any observation regarding his knightly insignia must be entirely hypothetical.

Interestingly, the later generations of the Perényis do not carry on the use of any insignia, moreover, on the memorials of the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century family members there is not even the Order of the Dragon represented. The tombstone of the son of János, Master of the Treasury István Perényi (†1484/1487, Tóketerebes/Trebišov, Roman Catholic church), which has for long been identified as Palatine Imre Perényi's (†1519) one<sup>48</sup>, was made only 2-3 decades later than János's

<sup>46</sup> DL 11470. Another example, Perényi's seal as Master of the Treasury: September 20, 1452.: DL 70900.

<sup>47</sup> DL 39288. Lővei, Sárkányrend, 154., 172. Kovács, Gótikus, 91.

<sup>48</sup> Vernei-Kronberger, Magyar középkori, 47.; Csoma – Csergheő, Alte Grabdenkmäler, 84–88.; Csergheő – Csoma, Perényiek, 300–303. Jolán Balogh rejected the identification with Palatine István in 1974. Balogh, Későrenaissance, 36. In spite of this, it was identified with him later

and István's tombstones (which both have insignia), but still do not show any sign of a knightly order. Unfortunately, Peter's (son of Master of the Treasury János, †1471) tombstone perished (originally placed in Pozsony/ Bratislava, St. Martin Church).<sup>49</sup> For some reason, however, the Order of Dragon is not to be forgotten, but reappears in the family after a few generations.<sup>50</sup> It firstly comes to light on the crosier of Ferenc Perényi (†1526), bishop of Várad, around the blazon on the verso of the figure of Virgin Mary (Nyitra/Nitra, Cathedral),<sup>51</sup> but oddly, on other artefacts connected to the bishop it cannot be detected. We have no trace of it on Perényi's missal (*Missale Strigoniense*, 1498, Győr, formerly Seminary, then Cathedral Library: it might have to be placed on or near the Perényi coat-of-arms, on the verso of the cover, or, on folio n. 207r.).<sup>52</sup>

Recently, however, a new evidence has come to light in the exhibition of the collection of the Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia (present-day Romania) diocese. Ferenc Perényi's, Bishop of Várad's episcopal chasuble (otherwise formerly known, held at the Piarist Church, formerly Jesuit Church in Kolozsvár/Cluj)

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on, Gervers-Molnár, Sárospataki, Fig. 54. New and correct identification: Lövei, Posuit, I. 341. Fig. 1154–1155.

<sup>49</sup> Lövei, Posuit, I. 52., 86., 341. The other Perényi tombstone, found in the Calvinist Church in Abaújvár and probably being Péter's (Lord Chief Justice, †1423) from the other, Nyaláb branch of the family, does not have any insignia. Lövei, Posuit, I. 340. Fig. 1153. See Héczey-Markó Ágnes – Rácz Miklós, „Egy különös középkori Perényi Péter sírköve az abaújvári református templomban”, = *Folia Historica* 28, 2012, 55–70.

<sup>50</sup> Lövei, Sárkányrend, 154.

<sup>51</sup> Balogh, Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance*. [The Renaissance in Transylvania] I. Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1943. 334. [hereinafter Balogh, Erdélyi]; *A magyar történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás lajstroma, megnyitott 1884. év február hó 17-én*. [A list of the Hungarian Exhibition of Historical Jewellery, 1884]. Budapest, 1884. 93–95.; Bunyitay Vince, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*. [History of the bishopric of Várad from its foundation to the present age] Vol. I–III. Nagyvárad/Oradea, 1883–1884. III. 72–73.; Pulszky, Károly – Radisics, Jenő, *Az ötvösség remekei*. [Masterpieces of jewellery] Budapest, 1888. I. 89–90.; Fraknói, Vilmos, *A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora*. [The age of the Hunyadi and the Jagiellonians] (A Magyar Nemzet Története. Ed. Sándor Szilágyi, IV.) Budapest, 1896. 641.; *Magyarország közgazdasági és közművelődési állapota ezeréves fennállásakor és az 1896. évi ezredéves országos kiállítás eredménye*. [The economic and cultural situation of Hungary and the result of the National Millennial Exhibition] Ed. Sándor Matlekovits. Vol. V. Budapest, 1898. 587.; Mihalik, József, „A csücsíves műízlés ötvösművészetének emlékei” [Monuments of Gothic jewellery], In: *Magyarország történeti emlékei az 1896. évi ezredéves országos kiállításon*. II. Eds. Imre Szalay – Béla Czobor. Budapest, 1902–1903. 241.; *Erdélyi művészeti kiállítás 1941*. [Art exhibition in Kolozsvár] Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1941. 22. Cat. nr. 122.

<sup>52</sup> Balogh, Erdélyi, 133. 319., Fig. 241.; Hoffmann, Edith, *Régi magyar bibliofílek*. [Old Hungarian bibliophiles] Budapest, 1929. 187–89. *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541*. Schallaburg, 1982. 547. Cat. nr. 601. Table 54., 56. Table.; Balogh, Jolán, *Várad vára*. [Castle of Várad] Budapest, 1982. 34–36.; Fábrián, Edit, „Várad reneszánsz püspökei és reneszánsz emlékeik” [The Renaissance bishops of Várad and their Renaissance memorials], = *A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*, 30, 2004–2005, 5–23. 20.

show representations of knightly insignia.<sup>53</sup> On the longitudinal stem of the episcopal cross, a griffin is depicted along with lily wreaths in nine vases, indicating the Aragonian Order of the Jar; in addition, at the bottom, a slightly slanted semi-circle, consisting of 11 „S” shaped motives can be observed, clearly alluding to the Lancastrian chain. The vestment’s material was made in Utrecht at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, while its embroidery is Hungarian.<sup>54</sup> The insignia were discovered only few years ago by Imre Takács. Unfortunately however, we cannot find any hints of the insignia on Ferenc Perényi’s seals, they do not even represent the Order of the Dragon badges.<sup>55</sup> The question arises whether the badges of the Order of the Jar and the Lancastrian collar disappeared for 40–50 years from the family insignia, how it would be possible that it was preserved in the common family memory. It needed also to be revived that these rewards had importance and were to raise the status of the family. This is nevertheless reflected in the fact that Péter Perényi, ispán of Temes (†1548) brought back the Order of the Dragon badge and re-used it at his residence at Siklós (on a relief of the so-called Perényi bastion, the crest is encompassed by a dragon), albeit he lived more generations after those who acquired the reward.<sup>56</sup>

A manuscript representation of chivalric orders of Hungarian nobles has recently been revealed by Zsombor Jékely. A heraldry “catalogue” held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester has been discussed in detail in the author’s recent article,<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Millenniumi kiállítás Gyulafehérvár. Válogatás az ezeréves főegyházmegye kulturális kincseiből. Expoziție milenară. Millenary Exposition.* [Selection of the 1000-year-old bishopric] Ed. Hegedűs Enikő. Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, 2009. Cover photo. Hegedűs, Enikő – Takács, Imre, „Egy lovagrendi jelvényekkel díszített kazula”, [A chasuble decorated with chivalric order insignia] = *Ars decorativa* (under publication); Lövei, Pál, „Újabb ismeretek a Sárkányrend emlékeiről” [Recent new evidence on the monuments of the Order of the Dragon], In. *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére.* Ed. Juan Cabello – Norbert C. Tóth. Nyíregyháza, 2011. 259–66. 262.

<sup>54</sup> Sas, Péter, *A kolozsvári jezsuita, más néven piarista templom kincstára.* [The treasury of the Jesuit, presently Piarist Church in Kolozsvár] Kolozsvár/Cluj, 2007. 73. nr. 183.; Idem, „A Jézus Társasága emlékei az egykori kolozsvári jezsuita templomban” [Monuments of Jesuits in the former Jesuit Church in Kolozsvár], In. *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig.* Ed. Szilágyi Csaba. Piliscsaba, 2006. 391–413. 409–410. Fig. 7. According to Lövei the embroidered cross of the casula is from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Lövei, Újabb ismeretek, 262.

<sup>55</sup> Ferenc Perényi, bishop of Várad’s seal, 1520: DL 68029; Temesváry, János, *Az erdélyi püspökök címerei.* [Coats-of-arms of bishops of Transylvania] Budapest, 1930. 11–12.

<sup>56</sup> Lövei, Sárkányrend, 155.

<sup>57</sup> *Livro de Aurotos*, cc. 1416–1417. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Rylands Medieval Collection, Latin Ms 28. Jékely, Zsombor, „Címerkönyvek és címereslevelek: magyar nemesi címerek a konstanzi zsinat idején”, [Heraldry books and coat-of-arm charters: Hungarian noble coat-of-arms in the age of the Council of Constance] In. *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris*, 357–72. 361–62. I am grateful for Zsombor Jékely for calling my attention to the online version of the manuscript in the Rylands Medieval Collection (<http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet/Man4MedievalVC~4~4>) and for his help with his paper

though the fact that the so called Portuguese herald's roll was already been referred to by Pál Lövei.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, he only mentioned that Sigismund's banner and the insignia of the Order of the Dragon is represented, but not yet provided insight into the fact that it contains precious references and images to the knightly insignia and coat-of-arms of Hungarian noblemen. From the point of view of present study it is of prime interest that the coats-of-arms of a number of Hungarian nobles, represented in the Manchester manuscript, have the Lancastrian SS-collar. Apart from János Perényi, Master of the Treasury – for the cross-evidence of whose English award the Portuguese herald is a unique, justifying source, of which I myself have formerly had only a slight guess, not being able to see and have an autopsy of the manuscript in Manchester – a couple of other members of his wider family are depicted with SS-insignia around their blazons, i.e. more precisely in the “neck” of the helmet on the crest. The first in the line of folio 43r is the coat-of-arms of Miklós Perényi of the Rihnói sub-branch (Lord Marshal, †1420), who is proven, also in my former researches to have been in England as a member of the retinue of King Sigismund. The second is another Miklós, with the cognomen “Pataki”, cousin of János Perényi (Lord Marshal, †1428), accordingly wearing the SS-collar, and the third one, again, is another Miklós. The latter – “Nicolaus de Peren”, without having a father named – has been identified by Jékely as being of János's son – probably the author could have had in mind Miklós, son of János, Master Cup-bearer to the King, who died in 1396 on the battlefield of Nicopolis, son of Péter –, though we might propose another solution: this Miklós, not detailed further by the Portuguese herald whose son he was, might be of another branch of the Perényi, of the Rihnói-Krompachi one, son of Dániel (†1444), who could have probably been in the company because of the support of his Rihnói cousin, Miklós, Master of the Treasury, who is standing first in the list here. This Miklós, son of Dániel Krompachi was *aulicus* of King Sigismund from 1411 onwards, and must have escorted the monarch to Constance, and even to England, while of the other Miklós, son of János we do not know anything relevant that may connect his person to the King. There is a fourth iconographic representation in the folio (43r), of Balázs Buzlai, of whom it is documented that he was *familiaris* of the Perényi,<sup>59</sup> but it is still interesting why he, as a non-aristocratic member of the entourage could have been awarded with the Plantagenet insignium.<sup>60</sup> Another folio depicts further

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in manuscript version. Jékely also revealed in his paper that Steen Clemmensen identified a number of Hungarian coats-of-arms. Steen Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book al. Livro de Arautos al. De ministerio armorum. An armorial of the Council of Constance 1414–1418 by an anonymous Portuguese herald*. 2011 Online: [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk) – November 30, 2014.

<sup>58</sup> Lövei, Újabb ismeretek, 263.

<sup>59</sup> Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301–1457*. [Secular archontology of Hungary, hereinafter Archontológia] Vol. I–II. Budapest, 1996. II. 43.; Novák, Sasember, 389.

<sup>60</sup> He escorted Sigismund to Aragon, as signified in his armalis donation. ZsO. V. nr. 1091.

Hungarian coat-of-arms, of which two is of particular interest to us. Although Jékely does not mention, when one comes to a closer look at folio 43r, on the second coat-of-arms the SS-collar, though a bit obscure and hard to observe, is also represented, as it is also stated by Steen Clemmensen.<sup>61</sup> It means that Miklós, son of Miklós Perényi, of the Pataki branch does wear and must have been donated the Lancastrian collar. Even though we do not have evidence to support that he was with Sigismund in England, he is documented to have been in Constance in 1417, and even in March 1418.<sup>62</sup> What is surprising to see is that István, brother of János, Master of the Treasury is not at all represented, nor with an SS-collar on the heraldry roll, yet, he must have been with King Sigismund in Constance, and, probably in England. It is even more striking when it comes to a retainer to have been donated the livery, Balázs Buzlai, and a person of the baronial family, who must have been in the royal retinue, István Perényi is not. It is even more important and a great help in research that Jékely revealed that there are not only the Perényi, but other Hungarian noble families are represented with their coats-of-arms. Of those he identifies, along with Clemmensen, the ones with the Lancastrian insignia are of interest to us: János Maróti and Imre Leszteméri (f. 43v).<sup>63</sup> In the case of the former, Maróti it has to be seen whether he could have been in England – I myself in a former study did not list him in the England entourage, as he must have been in Hungary by that time – but now it seems that at a certain time the Portuguese herald could have met him in Constance, probably after the return of Sigismund, perhaps in 1418.<sup>64</sup> Scholars agree that the herald compiled the *Livro* on the premises, probably before and right after the arrival of Sigismund's entourage at the beginning of 1417.<sup>65</sup> It can be postulated that he went to the synod after the King's return from his Aragonian-French-English visits. The latter, Leszteméri has been known to us as having been in the entourage of King Sigismund in England. Leszteméri was in England, as far as his donation charters testify. Imre Leszteméri, son of János was granted *ius gladii* on his family's landed estates for his services from Istria through France to England.<sup>66</sup> He was also granted the office of Vice Lord Marshal in 1420 (deputy of his lord, Miklós Pataki Perényi, Lord Marshal)<sup>67</sup> as

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<sup>61</sup> Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 17.

<sup>62</sup> ZsO. VI. nr. 665., 1691.

<sup>63</sup> Jékely, *Címerkönyvek*, 362.

<sup>64</sup> He was taken captive in Bosnia in July 1415 (ZsO. V. nr. 926; still imprisoned, September 4, 1416; ZsO. V. nr. 2255.), and was not set free until April 1418. ZsO. VI. nr. 1828. It is improbable to us though that he went to meet the King and reached him in Constance as Sigismund left the synod on May 17, 1418. Engel, Pál – C. Tóth, Norbert, *Itineraria regum et reginarum. Királyok és királynék itineráriumi* (1382–1438). Budapest, 2005. 104.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> June 25, 1418; ZsO. VI. 2088.

<sup>67</sup> ZsO. VII. nr. 2335.;



well as an *armalis* in 1422.<sup>68</sup> Leszteméri could be of great importance at the court in the field foreign policy, as it is proved by the text of the donation charter, which highlights his assistance in Sigismund's diplomatic negotiations not only in England, Spain, France etc., but in „Burgundie” as well, which indicates that he went on diverse missions and were sent out from the court of Sigismund.

The Portuguese herald's book confirm that Miklós Perényi of the Rihnói branch was in England, as he is also indicated in charters of donation by King Sigismund. The fact, however, that not every one of the England entourage of King Sigismund are depicted as wearing the SS-collar, and even the more illustrious company members – Miklós Garai and Hermann von Zilli<sup>69</sup> – are not, leads us to assume that the ones who do wear, and are described as having the English insignium, did in fact receive the badge from the King of England, and it was not an order automatically given away by Sigismund as commissioned by King Henry V. It needs further researches but I am trying to come forward with the hypothesis, thus confirmed by the *Livro de Arautos* that the SS-collar was donated to certain selected ones, those members of the Sigismundian retinue whom the King of England did wish to award himself. And the circle, who did get the award were to be connected to the Perényi – bearing in mind that those who are wearing the livrée, Leszteméri and Buzlai are all the *familiares* of the family<sup>70</sup> – that is why this was something he did wish to represent by having it carved on his tombstone.<sup>71</sup> Further researches need to be done since the SS-collars worn by Hungarian noblemen in the manuscript are of two different types: one of golden S-S pieces, and another one, which seems to be a leather belt, a blue leather strap held together by a trefoil clasp.<sup>72</sup> Apart from Miklós, son of Pál, of the Rihnói branch all the Perényi family members wear the ordinary SS-belt. There must be an explanation why Rihnói received the golden chain, the more distinguished version of the Lancastrian livery collar, that is why he is placed first in the line: he himself could have been the one especially awarded with the insignium, and could have thus excelled in the service of the English dynasty. Interestingly, János, the would-be Master of the Treasury, who had the SS represented on his tombstone, has only a „secondary” leather belt on the

<sup>68</sup> September 17, 1422: ZsO. IX. nr. 980. Szendrei, János, „A Leszteméri család címereslevele 1422-ből” [The *armalis* of the Leszteméri family from 1422] = *Turul* 9, 1891, 171–173. 172.; *Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica. Magyar címeres emlékek*. Eds. László Fejérpataky – Antal Áldásy. Vol. I–III. Budapest, 1901–26. I. 36.

<sup>69</sup> Jékely, *Címerkönyvek*, 361.

<sup>70</sup> Buzlai and Leszteméri are retainers of Miklós Perényi of the Pataki branch. Engel, *Archontológia*, II. 43., 145. Buzlai became undersheriff of Trencsén (deputy of his lord, Miklós Pataki Perényi, Lord Marshal and ispán of Trencsén) in 1421: ZsO. VIII. nr. 505.

<sup>71</sup> This is shared by Clemmensen as well. Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 6.

<sup>72</sup> Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 10.

manuscript, and it is his cousin, Rihnnói who was the major member of the Perényi who must have been in the particular grace of the King of England. The fact that he was the senior of the Perényi members being present in England might explain why he was awarded the golden livrée.<sup>73</sup> In 1416 he had been *aulicus* for 5 years,<sup>74</sup> and became elevated to Lord Marshal the following year.<sup>75</sup> In 1417, in Constance Nicholas, son of Paul Perényi was rewarded with substantial estates for his duties to the King in Lombardy, France, Germany, Aragon and England.<sup>76</sup> He is one of those favourites and *aulici* who accompanied Sigismund on all his missions from Constance. There are charters that prove that he followed the same itinerary as the King, must have thus been accompanying the royal entourage from Calais to Constance in 1416–17. We find him first at Constance at the same time Sigismund was to arrive from England: in February 1417.<sup>77</sup> His services were favoured greatly, so much as the King donated several other estates to the Lord Marshal at the end of their travels, on his way home. Perényi's services, among others in England are repeated in that charter as well.<sup>78</sup> He was an *aulicus* experienced in foreign matters since he was for example on a mission to Germany, to Louis, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine of the Rhine in 1411.<sup>79</sup>

However, it would be the task of further research why and how the two Miklós cousins, Pataki and Rihnnói are both indicated in the Manchester manuscript as „marescallus”. It was already proposed by Pál Engel that Pataki was or a short time in 1418 Lord Marshal (with his being elevated to the position of ispán of Máramaros<sup>80</sup>), at the same time with his cousin, Miklós Rihnnói being in office from May 1417.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, the *Livro* of the Portuguese herald shows that they are at the same time, probably in 1417 when the manuscript was made holding the office of *marescallus*. Engel found that in 1418 Pataki addresses himself as *ma-*

<sup>73</sup> Miklós Pataki might have been older than János, since he is first mentioned in 1398, while the latter is in the sources from 1408 onwards. See Novák, Ádám, Sasember, 397. Genealogical table 1.

<sup>74</sup> May 5, 1411.: ZsO. III. nr. 430.

<sup>75</sup> May 9, 1417; and October 12, 1419, respectively. Engel, Archontológia, I. 148.

<sup>76</sup> Constance: May 9, 1417.: ZsO. VI. nr. 423.; He is present in Constance: May 20, 1417: ZsO. VI. nr. 453. On June 15 an installation charter is issued: ZsO. VI. nr. 580.

<sup>77</sup> Sigismund is reported first at Constance on January 27, 1417, and on February 2 we find Perényi there. ZsO. VI. nr. 1453–54.

<sup>78</sup> September 27, 1417.: ZsO. VI. nr. 2374.

<sup>79</sup> May 5, 1411: Perényi is reported to be intending to go to 'Almania'. ZsO. III. nr. 1430. It was an embassy very close to Sigismund's heart, since after the death of his cousin, Jodocus, Marquess of Moravia on January 18, 1411, he again tried to have himself elected Holy Roman King in Germany, and after the unsuccessful vote of 1410, after Rupert's death, Sigismund now wanted to make his elevation more and more certain. Therefore, he sent ambassadors to treat with his 'party' members, Werner, Archbishop of Trier; and Louis, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine. June 4, 1411.: ZsO. nr. III. 524.; July 1. ZsO III. nr. 634.

<sup>80</sup> Engel, Archontológia, I. 153.

<sup>81</sup> Engel, Zsigmond bárói, 437.

*rescallus* in a papal *supplicatio*, while at that time his cousin being *marescallus* as well.<sup>82</sup> Based upon the Manchester manuscript evidence, it seems Pataki could have also used the title before, probably during 1417. It is not uncommon in the administration of Sigismund, especially, in the case of the Perényi, János and István held the office *magister dapiferorum* together, from 1431 to 1437.<sup>83</sup>

János, Miklós's cousin is documented being in royal service as *aulae regiae miles* from 1420 onwards, as his first official office in the royal administration dates only from 1431 as *magister dapiferorum*.<sup>84</sup> Beyond Miklós Rihnoi Perényi, the one identified by Jékely and Clemmensen as János Maróti wears the golden chain (f. 43v). In addition, it is even more interesting to us that the badge of the Order of the Dragon is represented on two coats-of-arms, Miklós Rihnoi's and Miklós Pataki's one, while apart from a mention in the will of the latter (1428), we do not have any evidence of the former one's membership of the order of Sigismund. The *Livro* signifies that Miklós Perényi could have been awarded the order before 1417.

It is of peculiar importance to us that it is rather rare to find the Lancastrian livery collar outside England. I have not yet made an overall examination of the English insignia in heraldry rolls and codices of coats-of-arms, not to speak of the monuments of funerary art all over Europe with the aim of disclosing whether there were analogous representations. In the above mentioned *Livro de Arautos*, for example, apart from the Hungarians the SS-collar is represented only in the case of one Silesian, unidentified nobleman ("de cacumine", f. 63r).<sup>85</sup> It means that Hungarians have the SS-insignia in the greatest number (6) of all nations represented by the Portuguese herald. As far as I could judge based on my investigations, there are only few nobleman outside England who was awarded the SS-collar. It has already been disclosed by Éva Kovács that Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantova received 50 chains in 1436 with the privilege to donate it away further. However, the sources do not say that he received the very collar, the SS-livery, but only "colerae nostrae aut devisamenti", yet a treasury inventory from 1416 in the Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga specifies that "unam colanam auream laboratam ad S adivisam regis Angliae", or, another source speaks of "colaria ad S ad divisam regis Angliae" in 1418, that is, we should take it for certain that he was awarded the Lancastrian insignium. Kovács also calls our attention to the fact that the Ss are to be seen in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantova, in the "Ciclo cavalleresco arturiano" painted by Pisanello.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> February 2, 1418: ZsO. VI. nr. 1453.; Engel, Archontológia, I. 42. All other evidence show that he was in office only from 1420.

<sup>83</sup> Engel, Archontológia, I. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Engel, Archontológia, II. 189–90.

<sup>85</sup> Clemmensen, The Herald's Book, 30.

<sup>86</sup> Kovács, Hattyú, 235.

An Italian, Giovanni Francesco Capodilista was also awarded the SS-collar, as it can be seen in a manuscript evidence: he himself is described as wearing the livery in the Capodilista Codex (*De viris illustribus familiae Transelgardorum, Forzate et Capitis Listae*, Basel, 1434–35, Padova, Biblioteca Civica).<sup>87</sup> Capodilista was a Venetian envoy at the synod of Basel, that is why he could have been awarded by the King of England himself. In addition, he is seen as wearing the Order of the Dragon as well.

The SS-livery collar is to be found on the tombstones of certain Austrian or South-German noblemen (Reinprecht von Wallsee, †1450, Säusenstein; Jörg Perckhaimer, † after 1450, Vöcklabruck),<sup>88</sup> however, there is no sign that the insignium was awarded in greater number outside the Kingdom of England.

In conclusion, a hypothesis might be proposed: it is mostly those of the Hungarian baronial society who employed Western European livrée or chivalrous insignia in their representation and had foreign badges or devises described on their coat-of-arms or tombstones that were abroad themselves and became acquainted at first hand with the Western European aristocratic way of life and mentality. It is not accidental that Lőrinc Tari, who was working in Sigismund's commission from Rome to Castile and from Venice to Ireland almost everywhere, considered it important to depict in the parish church in Tar the insignia – of the Castilian Order of the Scale and the Cyprian-Lusignan Order of the Sword – testifying his credit and high status obtained throughout Europe.<sup>89</sup> Albeit very few similar sources survived, it can be assumed that the barons being active in foreign policy could have become acquainted at least with the Central European, South German baronial patterns of way of life and tried to follow them. The insignia of a Perényi tombstone is not behind the any other European models of the time, in this respect, a certain progress has been started in Hungary too, if you like a thin layer of the Hungarian landowners have started to get „europeanized”. The increasing application of the livrée of the Order of the Dragon and then the dragon form itself as a crest holder during the 15<sup>th</sup> century leads us to conclude that the baronial society was aware of the elevation of status and rank arising from the use of these insignia and looked upon them as a part of their own aristocratic representation.

<sup>87</sup> „Giovanni Francesco Capodilista: De viris illustribus”, In. Sigismundus, Cat. nr. 4.45. (Zsombor Jékely – Margaret Scott).

<sup>88</sup> Lövei, Uralkodói, 259. Fig. 13–14.

<sup>89</sup> Cabello, Juan, „A tari Szent Mihály templom építéstörténete”, [The history of the architecture of the St. Michael Church in Tar] In. *Művészet* I. 283–96. 289. 294.; Idem, *A tari Szent Mihály templom és udvarház*. [The St. Michael church and mansion house in Tar] Budapest, 1993. 45–46.; 75–76.



*Fig. 1. The Lancastrian SS-collar on the tombstone of János Perényi, Töketerebes/Trebišov, Roman Catholic Church*



*Fig. 2. King Sigismund's Order of the Garter.  
Armorial of the Order of the Garter, 1588.  
British Library MS Harley 1864 f. 2v*



*Fig. 3. SS-collar on the effigy of John Beaufort (†1410), Earl of Somerset, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Canterbury Cathedral*



*Fig. 4. King Henry V, choir, York Minster*



*Fig. 5. The effigy of Sir William Bagot (†1407),  
Parish Church, Baginton, Warwickshire*



*Fig. 6. The effigy of Thomas, Duke of Clarence (†1421),  
Canterbury Cathedral*



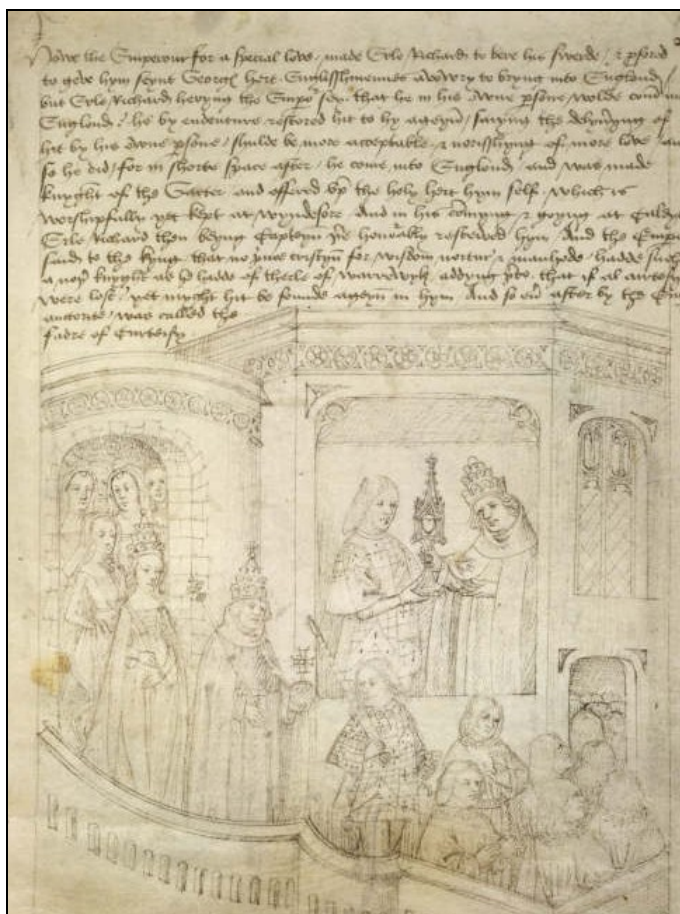


Fig. 7. Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and King Sigismund in Calais, 1416.  
 The Pageant of Richard de Beauchamp, the thirteenth earl of Warwick,  
 British Library MS Cotton MS E. iv. art. 6. f. 18r.



## CONFLICT TREATMENT IN THE ESTATES OF BISHOP ALBERT VETÉSI AND A LAY LANDLORD MIKLÓS ÚJLAKI

From the mid-fifteenth century, an exceptional document survived which is not only interesting because of its uniqueness and its contents rich in facts and names but also for its singular level of detail with which it reveals to us a legal practice existing since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. I would like to present the register written in 1468. The two key figures of the story are the ecclesiastical landholder Albert Vetési and the lay landlord Miklós Újlaki.

Albert Vetési royal vice-chancellor, doctor of Roman and Ecclesiastical Law came from a noble family of Szatmár County and was appointed bishop of Veszprém in the spring of 1458 by Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490).<sup>1</sup> As the pontiff of the diocese of Veszprém (1458–1486) he became the landlord of significant estates.<sup>2</sup> Besides the two fortresses (Veszprém and Sümeg) he held many other estates. In Transdanubia alone, 1100 tax paying tenant holder peasants (*iobagiones*) lived in his lordship.<sup>3</sup> His episcopal authority was accompanied by two other important offices:<sup>4</sup> he became the perpetual count (*comes perpetuus*) of Veszprém County and the Queen's Lord Chancellor.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Solymosi, László, "Mátyás király és a magyarországi főpapok" [King Matthias and the Hungarian prelates]. In: *Emlékkönyv Barta János 70. születésnapjára* [Commemorative volume for the 70<sup>th</sup> birthday of János Barta]. Eds. Imre Papp – János Angi – László Pallai. Debrecen, 2010. 67.

<sup>2</sup> For the selected bibliography of his episcopal activity see: *Vetési Albert – Vetési László* [Albert Vetési – László Vetési]. Eds. Zoltán Brassai, János Géczi. Vár ucca Tizenhét 6 (1998) No. 1. Cf. Solymosi, László, "Könyvhasználat a középkor végén" [Reading in the late middle ages]. In: *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról* [Studies on the book culture of medieval Hungary]. Ed. by László Szelestei N. Budapest, 1989. 112–113.

<sup>3</sup> Kredics, László – Solymosi, László, *A veszprémi püspökség 1524. évi urbáriuma. Urbarium episcopatus Vesprimiensis anno MDXXIV*. [Urbarium of the diocese of Veszprém in the year 1524]. Budapest, 1993. 9; 110. This source can also be used for the period of Vetési's episcopate as there were no notable changes in landholding.

<sup>4</sup> Gutheil, Jenő, *Az Árpád-kori Veszprém* [Veszprém under the Árpád dynasty]. Ed. László Kredics. Veszprém, 1977. 101–105; 113–118.

<sup>5</sup> Gutheil, Jenő, *Veszprém város okmánytára. Oklevelek a veszprémi érseki és káptalani levéltárból* [Collection of Documents of Veszprém. Charters from the archives of the archdiocese and chapter of Veszprém] (1002–1523). Prepared for publication by László Kredics, with the contribution of Géza Érszegi and László Solymosi. Ed. István Hermann. Veszprém, 2007. 241. During the king's widowerhood the bishop held the title of Lord Chancellor of the Queen's Court.

Miklós Újlaki (1417–1477) was one of the most significant barons of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He owned a huge estate-complex and 30 castles in Transdanubia, Nyitra County and the Southern Territories (*Délvidék*). Except for the voivodship, all his offices bound him to this region. He was the perpetual count of Telcsák beyond the Sava, the Ban of Macsó and Slavonia and, by the grace of King Matthias, became the King of Bosnia.<sup>6</sup> Besides these, Miklós Újlaki was count of several counties, including Fejér County.<sup>7</sup> His tax paying peasants exceeded four times those of the bishop.

The lands of the loyal pontiff and those of the baron, who was deeply respected by the king, lay next to each other in the borderland of Veszprém County and Fejér County. The diocese of Veszprém had held lands in this region since the early 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> The ancestors of the Újlaki family gained a foothold there only in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> The bishopric villages of Hajmáskér, Szentistván, Patvására, Berhida (which can be considered a market town – *oppidum*) and Ősi followed the Séd stream from west to east.

North of the bishopric villages lay Újlaki's manor in Palota. It centered around the settlement Palota (Várpalota), where the former palace-building was re-edified into a castle around 1440 by Miklós Újlaki.<sup>10</sup> The market town beside the castle was the most important settlement in the region.<sup>11</sup> The nearby Üskü

<sup>6</sup> Kubinyi, András, "A kaposújvári uradalom és a Somogy megyei familiárisok szerepe Újlaki Miklós birtokpolitikájában. (Adatok a XV. századi feudális nagybirtok hatalmi politikájához)", [The role of Miklós Újlaki's estate of Kaposújvár and his noble retainers in Somogy County in his land policy. (Details for the power politics of the 15<sup>th</sup> century feudal estate)]. = *Somogy megye múltjából* 4, 1973, 3–44, mainly 5–14; 31–33. Cf. Fedeles, Tamás, "Galgóc az Újlaki érében" [Galgóc under the Újlakis] (1349–1524), In. *Debrecen város 650 éves. Várostartörténeti tanulmányok*. [The Town of Debrecen is 650 years old. Studies on the town's history]. Eds. Attila Bárány, Klára Papp, Tamás Szálkai. (Speculum Historiae Debreceniense 7) Debrecen, 2011. 198–201; 336–337.

<sup>7</sup> Csánki, Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. [Historical geography of Hungary under the Hunyadis] III. Budapest, 1897. [hereinafter Csánki III.] 396. Kubinyi, A kaposújvári uradalom, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima. Accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia. I. Ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131*. Edendo operi praefuit Georgius Györffy. Adiuvverunt Johannes Bapt. Borsa, Franciscus L. Hervay, Bernardus L. Kumorovitz et Julius Moravcsik. Budapestini 1992. 52–53., *Supplementum ad Monumenta civitatis Vesprimiensis (1000–1526)*. Opera et studio Geisae Erszegi et Ladislai Solymosi. Vesprimii, 2010. 31–35.

<sup>9</sup> Kumorovitz, Bernát L., *Veszprémi regeszták* [Regestas of Veszprém] (1301–1387). Budapest, 1953. No. 426.

<sup>10</sup> Gergelyffy, András, "Palota és Castrum Palota", [Palota and Castrum Palota], = *Magyar Műemlékvédelem (1967–1968)*. Budapest, 1970. 129. Cf. *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás*. [The archaeological topography of Veszprém County. Veszprém district.]. Written by István Éry – Márta Kelemen – Péter Németh – István Torma. Budapest, 1969. 210.

<sup>11</sup> Solymosi, László, "Veszprém megye 1488. évi adólajstroma és az Ernuszt-féle megyei adószámadások" [The 1488 tax register of Veszprém County and Ernuszt's county tax-reckonings]. In. *Tanulmányok Veszprém megye múltjából* [Studies on the history of Veszprém County]. Ed. László Kredics. Veszprém, 1984. 191.; 200–201.

was one of the main manorial possessions because of its fortress (*castrum*) also referred to as castle (*castellum*).<sup>12</sup>

The proximity of the manor in Palota and the estates of the diocese of Veszprém facilitated the emergence of conflicts between the local residents. However, for various reasons the lawsuits only rarely ended in judgments.<sup>13</sup> In the spring of 1465 the judge royal (*iudex curiae regiae*) László Pálóci was shown a 16-item record of arbitraries committed by Újlaki's men against bishop Albert Vetési and his subjects. It was no trivial matter; the damage caused was estimated at more than six thousand forints. The usual inquiry was reported by the Székesfehérvár Hospitaller Convent, which certified that everything had occurred as described in the submitted register.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless no trial was started with the invocation of the defendant Miklós Újlaki,<sup>15</sup> as indicated by the absence of informative charters on the lawsuit and the letter of judgment, the unresolved continuation of several cases, and most of all, the fact that, instead of the ordinary courts, the two landholders had recourse to a long-established and proven procedure to settle their disagreements.

There were different ways to end a conflict: by agreement, trial, trial-agreement and by judgment of elected ('taken') judges (*arbitri, probi viri*).<sup>16</sup> In the latter case, upon a court's proposal or by their own initiative, the parties agreed to ask reliable, credible people of their choice to make a decision in their

<sup>12</sup> Csánki III. 210.

<sup>13</sup> *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára*. [Collection of documents of the elder branch of the Count Zichy family of Zich and Vásonkeő] Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy, de Zich et Vásonkeő. Ed. Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Ernő Kammerer, Pál Lukács. I–XII. Pest, Budapest, 1871–1931. X. 337–339., XI. 207–208. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [Hungarian National Archives] (= MNL OL), Diplomatikai Levéltár [Diplomatic Archives] (= DL) 16012., Veszprémi Érseki és Főkapitányi Levéltár [Archives of the Archdiocese and Chapter of Veszprém] (= VÉFL), Veszprémi Püspöki Levéltár [Veszprém Episcopal Archives] (= Vp. It.), Oklevelek, Miscellanea 3. Photo, MNL OL Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic Collection of Photographs] (= DF) 230079.

<sup>14</sup> Vp. It. Oklevelek, Miscellanea 59. Photo: DF 200503. Published in Gutheil, Veszprém okmánytára [Collection of documents of Veszprém]. 237–241. Cf. Vp. It. Oklevelek, Miscellanea 3. Photo: DF 230079.

<sup>15</sup> For the absence of trials on arbitraries see Tringli, István, "Segítők a későközépkori hatalmas-kodásokban" [Supporters in the late-medieval arbitraries], In: *Ünnepi kötet dr. Blazovich László egyetemi tanár 70. születésnapjára* [Celebratory volume for the 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Professor László Blazovich]. Chief editor: Mária Homoki-Nagy. Szeged, 2013. 692–693.

<sup>16</sup> Hajnik, Imre, *A magyar bírósági szervezet és perjog az Árpád- és a vegyes-házi királyok alatt* [The Hungarian court system and the procedural law under the Árpád dynasty and the elected kings]. Budapest, 1899. (Reprinted in 2010) 406. Holub, József, *Zala megye története a középkorban* [History of Zala County in the Middle Ages] I. Pécs, 1929. 265–268. Cf. Eckhart, Ferenc, *A földesúri büntetőbíráskodás a XVI–XVII. században* [Criminal jurisdiction of the landowners in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Budapest, 1954. 53–55.

case and accepted to submit themselves to their judgment. This conflict treatment method (*per modum arbitrii*) can be documented from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward.<sup>17</sup>

Albert Vetési and Miklós Újlaki used this method. In 1468, the two landholders did not go to the county court or the Judge Royal with their grievances, but appointed eleven persons with the treatment of their collected complaints.

The elected judges started to work in a public place (*in loco communi*) designated by the landholders, in the village of Sóly, an estate of the Cistercian abbey of Zirc. The selected site was easily accessible, lying near Királyszentistván, Hajmáskér and Öskü, halfway between Veszprém and Palota. On 21 August, most likely after the morning mass, the judges heard the complainants, made their decisions and on the same day they prepared a register of them. The original register, authenticated with two pendent seals and five applied seals has, fortunately, survived.<sup>18</sup> Its importance is evidenced by the fact that the Veszprém Chapter made a copy of it three months later at the request of the bishop of Veszprém.<sup>19</sup>

To appreciate the value of this source, it is important to mention that relatively few charters remain extant from elected judges and this is the only original register to survive. Their decisions were usually preserved in other courts' publications or most likely in the charters of the 'places of authentication' like chapters and convents.<sup>20</sup> The importance of the register is increased by the fact that it records the complaints of both parties as well as the related judgments.

The structure of the register is clear and well-arranged. The introductory part gives us the definition of the genre (*registrum seu memoriale*), the subject, the date and the place. This is followed by a well-designed, brief description of the complaints, the investigation and the possible redress in 39 items. Of these, 15 items deal with the complaints of Újlaki's people, 23 with Vetési's and one item of mutual grievance. This series is interrupted after the fifth item by the oath and

<sup>17</sup> Hajnik, A magyar bírósági szervezet. 408–411. Bertényi, Iván, "A mediáció és a nádori ítélőszék az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" [Mediation and the palatine's court in Hungary under the Árpád dynasty], In: *Társadalom – demokrácia – szolidaritás. Tanulmánykötet Kozáry Andree tiszteletére* [Society – Democracy – Solidarity. Essays in Honour of Andree Kozáry]. Ed. Katalin Molnár. Budapest, 2013. 56–61.

<sup>18</sup> Esztergomi Prímási Levéltár [Esztergom Primatial Archives], Arch. Saec. U-40. Photo: DF 248745.

<sup>19</sup> VÉFL The Private Archives of the Veszprém Chapter, Charters, Hajmáskér 3. Photo: DF 200516.

<sup>20</sup> Hajnik, A magyar bírósági szervezet, 410. The charter of Vasvár Chapter in 1459 mentions a sealed register of elected judges. The canon of Vasvár returning from the market town of Sárvár „mediante quodam registro sigillis nobilium inibi arbitrantium consignato iuxta tenorem et contenta eiusdem registri per omnia coram nobis est confessus”. DL 45122. The charter is known from a copy made in 1464. Cited in: Eckhart, Franz, *Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter*. In: *MIÖG Ergänzungsband IX. Heft 2*. Innsbruck, 1914. Cf. Idem, *Hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon* [Places of authentication in medieval Hungary] *Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter*. Ed. Gábor Rokolya. Translated by Balázs Csókay, Gábor Dreska. (Bilingual edition) Budapest, 2012. 83.; 265.

the general part regulating the time, place and method of producing a witness. This part consists of two slightly different components: the first refers to Újlaki's people, while the second to those of Vetési. To introduce the regulations after the fifth item is logical, because that is the first item requiring a witness' testimony; later there are only brief references to it.<sup>21</sup> The final section contains the names of the 11 elected judges, three ecclesiastic and eight lay persons, and the general provisions in five items. The record finishes with the clause of corroboration and the date which only refers to the above mentioned date and place.

The list of the elected judges was led by Péter Csákvári, cantor canon of Veszprém, followed by two fellow canons. The lay judges were all landed nobles from Veszprém, Zala, Fejér, Tolna counties and another southern county. The lay judges' list was led by Miklós Unyomi who held estates in counties of Vas, Zala and Veszprém; and since the early 1440's served the bishop of Veszprém for nearly thirty years. He was the castellan of two episcopal fortresses (Sümeg and Veszprém) and vice-count (*vicecomes*) of Veszprém County, and was honored with the title 'count' (*comes*) several times.<sup>22</sup> Beside him László Hosszútóti held a major county office, he was the vice-count of the neighbouring Zala County.<sup>23</sup>

Though we do not know exactly who belonged to whom, we suggest that the bishop's men outnumbered the baron's. However, this question is not important, as they mutually accepted each other's candidates. They trusted them and did not fear a biased judgment. The judges had great legal experience and were familiar with the judicature. The three canons were skilled in both ecclesiastic and lay litigation. In the latter they gained experience in the course of lawsuits launched by the chapter of Veszprém as a landholder and also during the chapter's activities as a 'place of authentication', while the noble judges had gained practice in participating in the work of the county courts.

Elected judges dealt with a wide range of legal cases. The complaints can be classified into two main groups: transgressions and crimes against a person or against a property. The latter were in majority, as they made up nearly two-thirds of the cases. Harm caused to a person usually meant that someone had been beaten, wounded or even imprisoned. The most serious crime was homicide. The

<sup>21</sup> The method of oath-taking was regulated elsewhere too: this is revealed by a fragment from Lelesz. Kumorovitz, Bernát L., "Az eskü megítélésére vonatkozó XV. századi jogi jegyzet-töredék" [A fifteenth century legal notice fragment on assessing the oath] = *Turul* 49, 1935, 102. On the oath see: Holub, Zala megye története I. 258–265.

<sup>22</sup> Csánki III. 192–193; 289, DL 44867, Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája* [The lay archontology of Hungary] 1301–1457. I–II. Budapest, 1996. I. 418.; 458. Horváth, Richárd, Veszprém megye tisztségviselői a középkorban [Officials of Veszprém County in the Middle Ages] (1458–1526). *Fons* 7 (2000) 253–254. Cf. Högyész, László, *Sümeg évszázadai* [Centuries of Sümeg]. Veszprém, 1989. 33–35.

<sup>23</sup> Holub, Zala megye története I. 471.

murder of three peasants and a priest belonged to this category. In one case the applicant suspected the defendants of intending to commit homicide. Lastly there was a case related to the moving of a peasant who, not knowing anything of the legal restrictions, left Veszprém to Palota.<sup>24</sup> This case had financial implications too, so it also included offenses against property.

In accordance with the national patterns, the most common offenses were driving off cattle (*abductio*) and seizure (*arrestatio*) of oxen.<sup>25</sup> Numerically, 32 animals are mentioned but in reality the actual number could be much higher. Horse theft barely featured among the complaints, which is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the oxen represented much greater value for the peasants than the horse.

The most serious offense was the plunder of an estate. Újlaki's peasants from Palota and Pét raided the bishop's estate in Szentistván and drove off the cattle. They caused much bigger devastation in Hajmáskér, when Újlaki's two noble retainers (*familiares*) and ten armed peasants (*manibus cum armatis*) looted the episcopal estate. The considerable damage caused to the local peasants was estimated at 47 forints.

About one third of the complaints raised were about stolen objects or money. The aim was the recovery of the stolen or confiscated goods and the money or objects lent. Usually small amounts of money and low value work-equipment (carriages, carts, barrels) or merchandise (fish) were involved, but occasionally the damages caused were of much greater value. Once, the bishop's noble retainer was attacked and robbed by Újlaki's peasants on his way to Veszprém (*in libera sua via*). They took his armor, two horses and equipment worth 43 forints. The last case is unique and related to agriculture: the complainant considered that the damage caused by some stray oxen in the prospective yield of his vineyard was about six barrels, for which of course the owner of the oxen had to pay.

The crimes in the outskirts of the settlements or in the settlements themselves – in their houses, market-places and streets – were mostly committed and suffered by the two landholders' peasants and noble retainers. The document recorded the names of the vast majority of them: we know 90 persons by name, including 16 noble retainers. Some of them were even involved in two cases; and there were some, too, who formed a warring party and were each other's inditees and victims. The manor's judge (*provisor curiae*) of Öskü was a suspect in three cases.

<sup>24</sup> Bónis, György, *Középkori jogunk elemei. Római jog, kánonjog, szokásjog* [Elements of Medieval Hungarian Law. Roman law, canon law, customary law]. Budapest, 1972. 196–197. Cf. Solymosi, László, *A földesúri járadékok új rendszere a 13. századi Magyarországon* [The new system of the landholder's annuities in Hungary in the 13<sup>th</sup> century]. Budapest, 1998. 102–110.

<sup>25</sup> Szabó, István, *A középkori magyar falu* [The Hungarian village in the Middle Ages]. Budapest, 1969. 176. For the interpretation of seizure (*arrestatio*) see Tringli, Segítő a hatalmasok között, 701–704.

The industrial and commercial activities of the peasants are mainly referred to in Latin (*carnifex, lapicida, pellifex, sartor, sutor*) or designated with the Hungarian term *kalmár*. The term clerk (*litteratus*) is used to express the literacy of the bishop's two noble retainers.

The elected judges questioned the parties, examined the complaints and came to a decision after a short consideration. In ten cases (one-quarter of the total) the trial was closed immediately with the judgment. There were several ways for doing so: the plaintiff's withdrawal, the obsolescence of the case (one case was 9 years old) or some other reason eliminated the lawsuit. In other cases the suspect was acquitted. It also happened that the court declared itself incompetent. One person was sentenced to death and confiscation of property (*in capite et rebus condemnatus*). In one occasion the court ordered the return of the unlawfully apprehended eight oxen.

In accordance with the general practice, in three-quarters of the cases the court decided who must swear an oath and who must produce a witness testimony. The court also decided where and when this should happen. The oath-taking (*sacramentum, iuramentum*) and the questioning of the witnesses took place in the presence of the noble judge (*iudex nobelium*) usually in Sólly.

In more than half the complaints the court ordered oath-taking. Usually the defendants themselves, but sometimes the applicants as well, were required to take an oath. However, in one case an exemption was made: not one of the litigants but three local people including the judge of the village were asked to take an oath. According to the number of the defendants and the claimants, usually one person was sentenced to take an oath. It was exceptional that in one case of Hajmáskér and another one of Pét, all of the local tenant landholder peasants had to swear an oath. Those who were sentenced to oath usually did it alone. Rarely, according to the court's decision, they had to appear on the site with five, thirty-nine or forty-nine other people. In two cases the judges sentenced oath-taking conditionally: if the defendants were willing to give back the stolen oxen, oath-taking was not required.

The social status of the oath-companions was regulated only occasionally. Only one noble retainer of Újlaki was required to swear the oath with noble companions. On other occasions, one relied on the everyday practice and the oath taker chose his companions from the same social status as his own.

The court ordered witness testimony (*attestatio*) only in six cases, naming 15 witnesses. Usually the court appointed three witnesses, who were generally peasants, rarely noble persons. Exceptionally, a widow was also assigned as a witness, she was the only woman mentioned in the register. The individuals chosen usually had to testify only once. However a noble witness had to do it three times because he was the noble judge at the time when the crimes were committed.

In a special case, the sellers of oxen, being the guarantors of the sale, were forced to face trial. To settle the dispute, the elected judges used the institution of warranty (*evictio*) originating in Roman law, but also familiar in the Hungarian legal system since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was customary that the seller assumed warranty or financial responsibility so that in the case of a lawsuit the customer should not sustain a loss.<sup>26</sup> As in this case the ownership of the purchased oxen became controversial, the sellers had to answer for this.

After the decisions were made, the elected judges made some additional provisions specifying that in the future the two landholders and their noble retainers and peasants should live in peace and amity.

In the first place, it was recorded that the peasants of the landholders can confiscate goods only in public places (*in loco communi*) and only in the presence of the authorized county judges. This became forbidden in the estates of their own landlords.

Furthermore, it was decided that if the landholders' castellans, bailiffs (*officiales*) or peasants were to cause harm to each other, the castellans and bailiffs must inform each other by the authorized noble judge to treat their conflict with the involvement of credible persons. If the castellans and bailiffs were unable to come to an agreement, the matter had to be rectified by the county court. If the court's decision was not acceptable to both parties, the case would be presented to the royal court with a letter from the county court.

The judges also ordered that if the parties had fulfilled the judgments, they had to give each other a safe conduct for all the harms, injuries and arbitrariness caused. Their recent and former provisions had to be approved with an authenticated charter. Those who failed to do so had to pay a penalty sum and the other party may act against him according to the custom of the country. To enforce this, the bishop and the baron swore an oath in person in front of the elected judges, and a penalty was levied. Although the amount is unknown, it probably did not exceed 3 marks.

Although the relocating of peasants was scarcely mentioned among the cases, due to its frequency and importance the judges ordered that the peasants willing to do so must not be moved from their places by the landholders, castellans and bailiffs against the laws and customs of the country.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Hajnik, A magyar bírósági szervezet, 171–172.; Bónis, Középkori jogunk elemei, 98–99; Solymosi, László, "Weingut und Urkundenausstellung im mittelalterlichen Ungarn", = *Archiv für Diplomatik* 57, 2011, 403–404.

<sup>27</sup> King Matthias Corvinus' letter of order in 1466 stated the essence of the custom as follows: „antiqua huius regni nostri Hungarie consuetudine dictante quilibet iobagio et iobagionalis condicionis homo in quorumcumque vestrum possessionibus residens habita licentia iustoque terragio deposito et aliis debitis suis persolutis ad possessiones aliorum liberam habeat rece-



Finally, in addition to those discussed, the court invalidated any other cases of injustice and enmity that happened between the two landholders, their noble retainers and peasants in Veszprém and Fejér Counties.

From this snapshot of the register, it can be concluded that the bishop's peasants were much more defenseless than the people of Miklós Újlaki. The Újlaki estate's two fortresses in Palota and Öskü presented both a threat to the outlanders and a protection for their own people, while the bishop's castle in Veszprém was too far away to fulfill such a function.

Although the elected court accelerated the redress of grievances, its activity did not overrule the county's legal system. Oaths were sworn in front of the noble judge, who also questioned witnesses. The county's authorities issued a charter on both, and the operation of the county became much more efficient.

It was important to regulate the oath and the witness testimony and to set out general principles not only for practical purposes, but also because there was not even a single custom or unified legal practice in existence.<sup>28</sup> Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*, the collection of the country's customary law, was published half a century later to form a basis for the legal system.



Fig 1. The coat of arms of Albert Vetési, Bishop of Veszprém on his charter from 1476 (Private Archives of the Veszprém Chapter, Veszprém oppidum 58.)

dendi facultatem". DL 98082. A law in 1458 contained the same stipulation. *Decreta regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns. 1458–1490*. Francisci Döry collectionem manuscriptam additamentis auxerunt, commentariis notisque illustraverunt Georgius Bónis, Geisa Érszegi, Susanna Teke. Budapest, 1989. 86–87 (article 15).

<sup>28</sup> Bónis, *Középkori jogunk elemei*, 210–222.

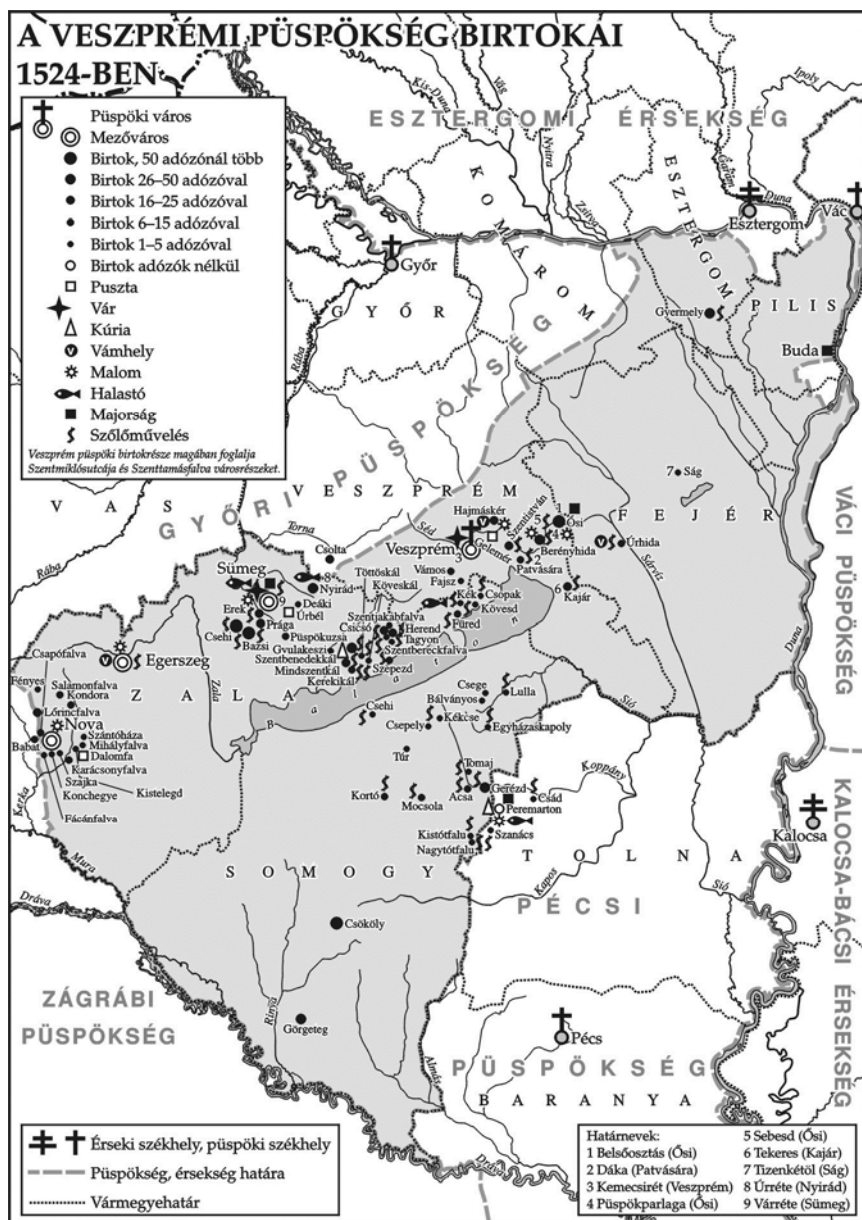
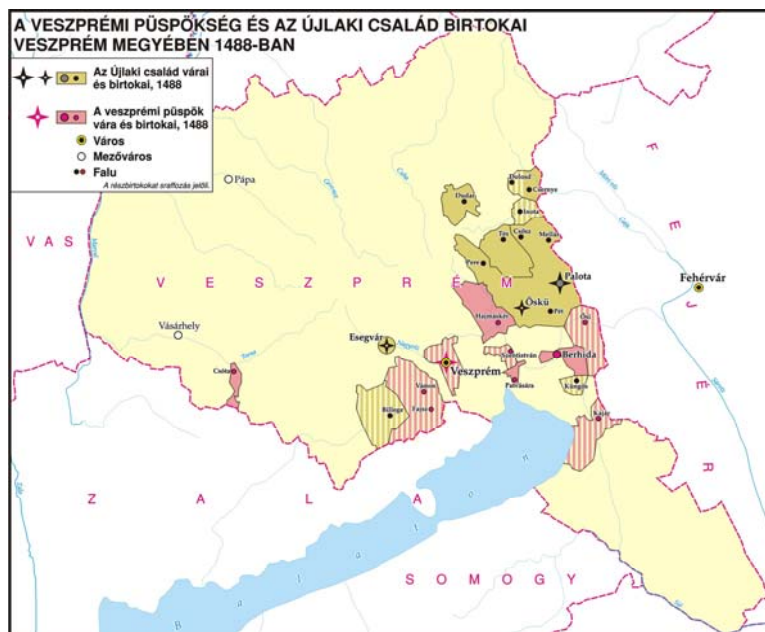
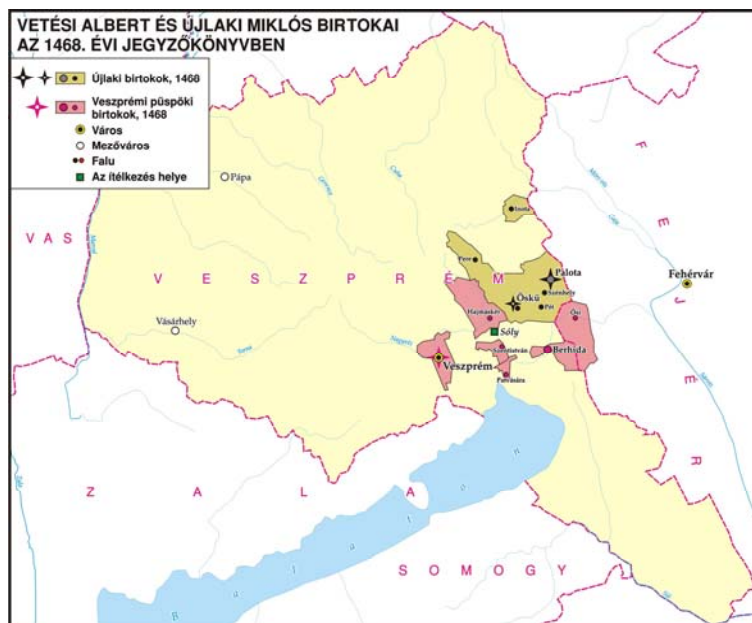


Fig. 2. The estates of the Veszprém episcopate in 1524





*Fig. 4. The estates of the Veszprém episcopate and the Újlaki family in Veszprém County in 1488*



*Fig. 5. The estates of Albert Vetési and Miklós Újlaki in the 1468 register*



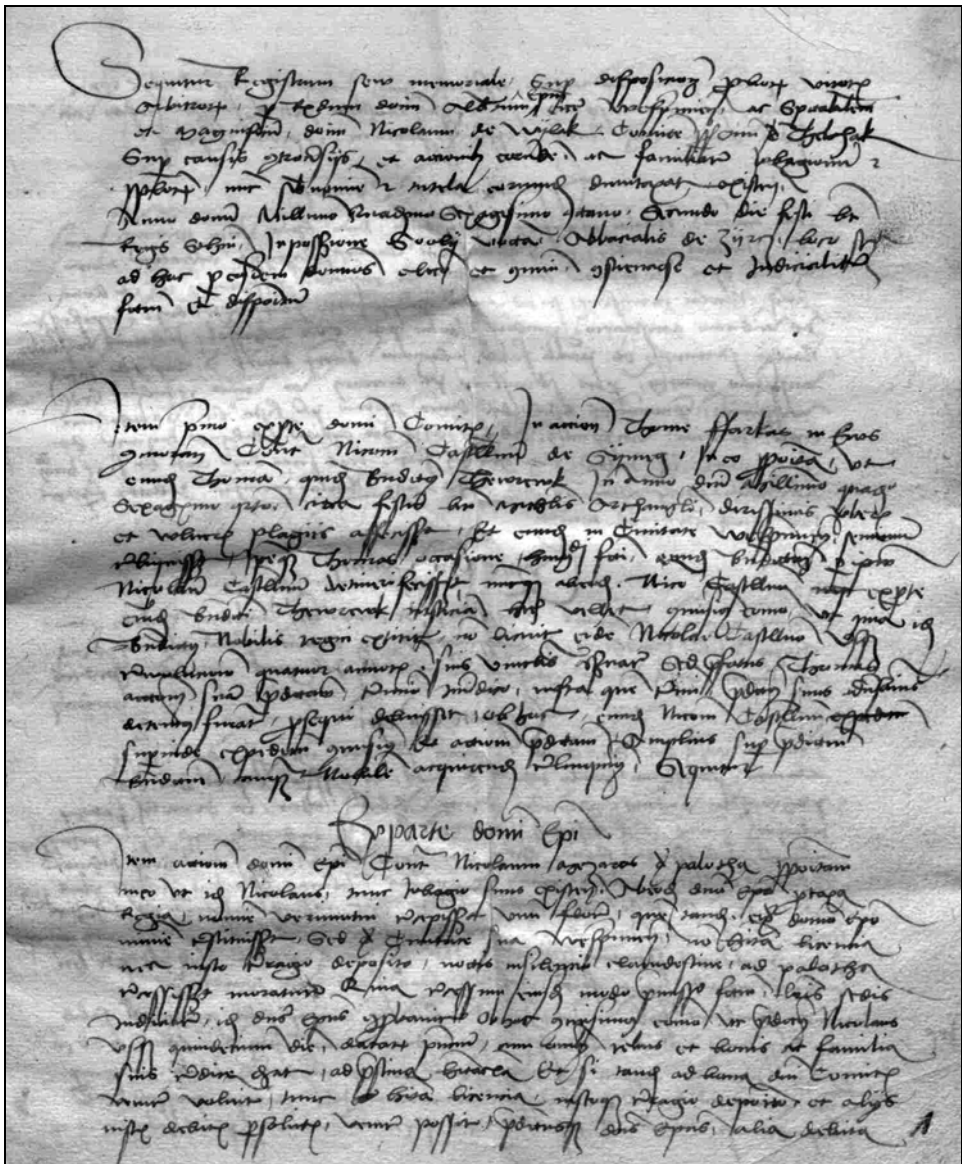


Fig. 6. The first page of the 1468 register



## **DIE FAMILIE SZAPOLYAI UND DER HANDEL IN OBERUNGARN AM ANFANG DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS (KRAKAU UND OFEN)**

Die Familie Szapolyai war die reichste Familie unter den Magnaten im Königreich Ungarn in den ersten drei Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Stephan Szapolyai war Palatin Ungarns am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, sein Sohn, Johann Szapolyai Woiwod Siebenbürgens zwischen 1510–1526, und später König Ungarns (1526–1540).

1490 hat Stephan Szapolyai den größten Teil der Dreißigstzölle des Königreichs zum Pfand bekommen. Auch nach seinem Tod blieben in der Hand der Familie die einigen wichtigen Dreißigstämter Nordungarns, wie z. B. Trentschin, Sillein, Tynau. 1505–1507 hat sich die Familie das Herrschaftsgut Arwa (Orava) mit dem Arwaer Dreißigstzoll erworben. Diese oben genannten Zollämter waren wichtig, weil dort wurde der Handel zwischen Böhmen, Schlesien, Polen und Ungarn verzollt. Die Familie Szapolyai konnte so einen Teil des Verkehrs zwischen Ungarn und Polen, und den ganzen Handel zwischen Schlesien/ Böhmen und Ungarn kontrollieren.<sup>1</sup>

In 14–15. Jahrhundert wurde vor allem das in der Zips und im Komitat Gömör gewonnene Kupfer nach Krakau geliefert, aber ein geringeres Teil des Kupfers aus Neusohl fand ebenfalls Aufnahmemarkt in der polnischen Hauptstadt. Die Situation hat sich dank der Gesellschaft Fugger-Thurzo verändert. Wie bekannt, 1495 haben Johann Thurzo und Jakob Fugger Verträge miteinander abgeschlossen. Mit der Hilfe der technischen Kenntnisse von Thurzo im Bergbau und des Geldes der Fugger konnte der Kupferbergbau in Neusohl zum Aufblühen gebracht werden. Von Neusohl wurde Kupfer nach Krakau, Schlesien, Venedig, usw. transportiert. Das Kupfer gelangte Breslau und Krakau über die Pässe der

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<sup>1</sup> Engel, Pál, „A magyar világi nagybirtok megoszlása a 15. században”, In. Csukovits Enikő (ed.), Ders., *Honor, vár, ispánság, válogatott tanulmányok*. Budapest, 2003, 67.; Neumann, Tibor, „A gróf és a herceg magánháborúja. (Szapolyai István és Corvin János harca a lipői hercegségért)”, = *Századok*, 148, 2014, 422–423.; Draskóczy, István, „A királyi jövedelmek a 16. század elején Magyarországon”, In. Manhercz, Orsolya (ed.), *Historia critica. Tanulmányok az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Karának Történeti Intézetéből*. Budapest, 2014, 81. Der Dreißigstzoll war ein Außenhandelszoll, woraus sich der König ansehnliche Einkünfte erhoffen konnte.

Karpathen, d. h. Jablunka-Pass und die Pässe im Komitat Arwa.<sup>2</sup> Wir wissen, dass das Kupfer von Neusohl auch deshalb wertvoll war, weil es auch Silber enthielt. Aus dem Kupfer wurde Silber in der Saigethütten entzogen. Johann Thurzo ließ in der Nähe von Neusohl eine Saigerhütte bauen.<sup>3</sup>

Die Thurzos, als Bürger von Neusohl genossen für sich und Ihre Waren Zollfreiheit in ganz Ungarn, aber die Bürger konnten diese Freiheit nicht immer durchgesetzt werden.<sup>4</sup> Sie mussten natürlich die Dreißigstzölle bezahlen. So haben die Thurzos, wo sie konnten, Vereinbarungen mit den Grundbesitzern, d. h. mit den Eigentümern der Zölle getroffen. Für die Sicherheit der Transporte war es wichtig mit den Inhabern der *Grundbesitze* auf gutem Fuß zu stehen.<sup>5</sup>

Im Jahre 1496 hat Johann Thurzo mit Stephan Szapolyai vereinbart, bei den Zöllen und Dreißigstzöllen der Szapolyais für Kupfer, Blei und anderen Waren eine Pauschalsumme jährlich zu bezahlen. Das Unternehmen hat ja die Summe jährlich bezahlt, so gab es ein gutes Verhältnis zwischen die Thurzo-Fugger Gesellschaft und die Szapolyais. In den Abrechnungen der Jahre 1494–1499 figurierte Stephan Szapolyai nur mit einer Jahressumme 300 Goldgulden. In der Zeit zwischen 1500 und 1504 hat der Faktor von Neusohl insgesamt 3900 Goldgulden für die Familie Szapolyai bezahlt, d. h. ungefähr 1000 Goldgulden pro Jahr. Die Erklärung für die Steigerung der Summe ist darin zu suchen, dass die Menge des aus Polen eingeführten Bleies und des aus Ungarn ausgeführten Kupfers vergrößert wurde.<sup>6</sup>

Zwischen 1505–1507 wurden die Burgdomänen von Likawa und Arwa mit dem Dreißigstamt in Arwa die Besitztümer von Szapolyai. Ein großer Teil des nach Krakau transportierten Kupfers verließ das Land über das Komitat Arwa.<sup>7</sup> Im Januar 1508 hat Johann Thurzo mit der Witwe von Stephan Szapolyai, Herzogin Hedwig vereinbart, dass den Pauschalbetrag 2200 Goldgulden ausmachen

<sup>2</sup> Halaga, Ondrej, *Košice–Balt*. Košice, 1975. 168–182.; Probszt von, Günther, *Die niederungarischen Bergstädte. Ihr Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung bis zum Übergang an das Haus Habsburg (1546)*, München, 1966, 253–259.; Carter, Francis William, *Trade and Urban Development in Poland. An economic geography of Krakow, from its origins to 1795*. Cambridge, 1994. 115–118.

<sup>3</sup> Kalus, Peter, *Die Fugger in der Slowakei*. Augsburg, 1999. 51–62.

<sup>4</sup> DF 280 712 (BB. 4–61), DF 273 045. (BB. Stadtbuch); Wenzel, Gusztáv, *Az alsómagyarországi bányavárosok küzdelmei a nagylucsei Dóczyakkal, 1494–1548*. Budapest, 1876. passim.; Vgl. Pór, Antal, Hábörúság Esztergom város és az esztergomi káptalan közt a vám miatt, = *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 11, 1904, 195–196.

<sup>5</sup> Jansen, Max, *Jakob Fugger der Reiche*. Leipzig, 1910. 139–142.

<sup>6</sup> OSZK Kézirattár (Handschriftensammlung) F 316. 83/1.; Jansen, Jakob Fugger, 139.; Pölnitz von, Götz, *Jakob Fugger*. I–III. Tübingen, 1958–1971. II. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Pölnitz, Jakob Fugger (wie Anm. 6.), II. 105.; Westermann, Ekkehard – Denzel, A. Markus, *Das Kaufmannsnotizbuch des Matthäus Schwarz aus Augsburg von 1548*. Stuttgart, 2011. 200–201.



wird. Nachdem König Ludwig II. die Güter der Gesellschaft in Ungarn beschlagnahmt hatte (1525), hat der Beauftragte des Königs nur 1300 Goldgulden für die Familie Szapolyai bezahlt. Aber in der Zeit (1525–1526), wo der König die Kupferbergwerke von Thurzo und Fugger besaß, ist die Kupferproduktion und auch die Exportierung des Kupfers zurückgegangen.<sup>8</sup> Man kann also sagen, dass die Vereinbarung mit der Gesellschaft für die Familie Szapolyai ein gutes Geschäft war.

Aus einer auf 1535 datierten Urkunde können wir darauf schließen, dass János Thurzó irgendwann am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts den oben erwähnten Handelsweg in Ordnung bringen ließ. Es hat den Anschein, dass der Hauptverkehrsweg im Komitat Arwa nach Polen damals nicht auf der heutigen Hauptstraße verlief. Statt dessen bogen die Fuhrleute am Turdossin oder am Dorf Jablonka nach Osten ab und fuhren so nach Polen weiter. Der Weg führte nach Neumarkt (Polen). Man brachte aber die Kupfertransporte nicht in diese Stadt hinein, sondern bog bei Długopolje nach Norden und beförderte die Ware über Meyslanitz nach Krakau. Die Thurzós und Fuggers ließen auch die ungarische und polnische Strecke des Weges verbessern, und wenn wir an unsere Daten glauben können, hielten sie auch regelmäßig instand. Dieser Tatsache ist es wohl zu verdanken, dass man die Ware nicht nur auf Tragpferde, sondern auch auf Wagen und Schlitten lud.<sup>9</sup> Im Marktflecken Turdossin errichtete das Unternehmen Fugger-Thurzó ein Magazin, wo das Blei und das Kupfer gelagert wurde. Man stellte sogar eine für das Wiegen der beiden Metalle geeignete Waage auf.<sup>10</sup>

Die Bewohner der Komitate Arwa, Turz und Liptau fuhren regelmäßig auf diesem Weg für Salz nach Wieliczka in Polen. Es kam vor, dass man von Ungarn wegen des schlechten Zustands der Wege nach Wieliczka nicht fahren konnte. Das ungünstige Wetter richtete nämlich trotz der ständigen Instandhaltung oft alles zugrunde, was bis dahin aufgebaut worden war. Es kann beobachtet werden, dass die Bauern besonders im Winter gern für Salz nach Wieliczka fuhren. Da konnten sie nämlich den wertvollen Artikel auf Schlitten nach Ungarn befördern, der zu dieser Zeit offenbar als sicheres Transportmittel galt.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Jansen, Jakob Fugger (wie Anm. 5.), 152.; Ratkoš, Peter (ed.), *Dokumenty k baníckemu povstávinu na Slovensku (1525–1526)*. Bratislava, 1957. 297, 466.

<sup>9</sup> Pölnitz, Anton Fugger. I. 602, 677.; Wyrozumska, Bożena, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI wieku*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1977. 71–72, 75–78; Klein, Bohuš, „Príspevok k historicko-geografickej lokalizácii cestnej siete Zvolenského komitatu“, = *Vlastivedný Zborník Považia* 15, 1985, 105.

<sup>10</sup> *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów osadnictwa górnej Orawy*. Ed. Władisław Semkowicz. I. Zakopane, 1932, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Kučera, Matuš, „Polsko–slovenský obchod so solou do konca 16. storočia“. = *Slovanské štúdie VII. Historia*. Bratislava, 1965. 118–119.

Die Szapolyais wollten möglichst hohe Einnahmen von ihren Zöllen und Dreißigsten haben, so waren sie interessiert an der Erhöhung des Handels. Damit ist zu erklären, dass sie einen neuen Weg durch Komitat Arwa eröffnet haben. Johann Szapolyai ließ die Täler aufschütten und durch Berghang und Felsen neue Wege bahnen. Die erste Nachricht über den neuen Weg stammt aus dem Jahre 1510, die Bauarbeiten begannen also vermutlich zwischen 1507 und 1510. Im Jahre 1514 wurde der Weg schon benutzt.<sup>12</sup>

Nach den Gegnern des neuen Weges, den Bürgern von Kaschau hätte ursprünglich ein einziger Pfad in diese Richtung geführt, auf dem mit Pferd oder zu Fuß Lebensmittel in die Bergstädte befördert worden wäre, der Gutsherr habe also kein Recht auf diesen Schritt gehabt. Man würde im ersten Augenblick daran denken, dass der Gutsherr den oben genannten, von dem Marktflecken Arwa nach Polen führenden Weg erweitern ließ. Nach einem im Jahre 1520 durchgeführten Untersuchung handelte es sich aber nicht um diesen, sondern um einen anderen Weg, der von Turdossin durch den Wald nach dem in Polen liegenden Zywetz führte.<sup>13</sup> Der Gutsherr ließ also neben den bis dahin einzigen öffentlichen Weg einen neuen bauen. Die im Verlauf der Untersuchung befragten alten Zeugen erklärten, dass sie den von Turdossin bis zum polnischen Städtchen führenden Weg regelmäßig benutzt hätten und dass dieser immer *via publica, libera via* gewesen wäre, auf dem Kupfer, Blei, Fisch, Tuch und Salz befördert worden wären. Der größte Besitzer der Region war die Familie Szapolyai, so entstanden solche Zeugenaussagen, die ihren Erwartungen entsprachen. Tatsache ist zugleich, dass die geographische Lage von Zywetz günstig war, sobald nämlich der neue öffentliche Weg fertig wurde, konnte das Blei vom polnischen Bergbaugebiet nach Ungarn darauf befördert werden, konnte man das Kupfer auf dem Land, mit Wagen von dieser Kleinstadt mit Ausweichung von Krakau über Tschenstochau nach Thorn und von dort nach Danzig transportieren. So musste die Waren etwas weniger fahren, als wenn man sie über Krakau befördert, oder einen Umweg nach Schlesien gemacht hätte. Im letzteren Fall hätte man den weiter westlich liegenden Jablunka-Pass überqueren müssen. Nebenbei bemerkt, dass die Fugger-Thurzo Gesellschaft in dem polnischen Bleibergbau (in Olkusz) Interesse hatte. Aus Breslau konnte man u. a. durch diese Kleinstadt nach Ungarn verschiedene Tuchwaren liefern.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> DF 217 010 (Bardejov 4115.), 217 030 (Bardejov 4133.), 229 379 (Prešov 811.), 269 268 (AMK D-55), 269 290 (AMK E-20), 269 291 (AMK E-21)

<sup>13</sup> Materialy (wie Anm. 10.), 7–10.; DF 217 009 (Bardejov 4114.), 217 010 (Bardejov 4115.), 217 030 (Bardejov 4133), 229 379 (Prešov 811.) .

<sup>14</sup> Gárdonyi, Albert, „Felső-Magyarország kereskedelmi útjai a középkorban“, = *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 32, 1908, 194–195.; Carter, Trade, (wie Anm. 2.), 95–96.; Wyrozumska, Drogi, (wie Anm. 9.), 82, 87.; Pölnitz, *Jakob Fugger* (wie Anm. 6.), II. 40.; Molenda, Danuta, „Investments in Ore Mining in Poland from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries“, = *The Journal of European*

Der Wegebau im Komitat Arwa stand im Gegensatz zu den Interessen der Stadt Kaschau. Von Polen führten die wichtigsten Handelswege über die Zips und das Komitat Scharosch. Von der Zips oder von Scharosch mussten die polnischen Kaufleute nach Kaschau fahren, da die Stadt über das Stapelrecht verfügte. Kaschau erstrebte die Monopolisierung des Handels zwischen Ungarn und Polen. Die Polen waren verpflichtet ihre Waren hier zum Kauf anzubieten und durften ins Landesinnere nicht weitergehen.<sup>15</sup> Wie bekannt, waren die Polen bestrebt das Stapelrecht umzufahren, indem sie alternative Handelswege suchten. So reisten sie über Sztropkó, Humenau, Munkatsch, wogegen die Stadt Kaschau protestierte.<sup>16</sup>

Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus ist es nicht überraschend, dass Kaschau sofort sein Wort gegen den neuen Weg erhob, obwohl Arwa weit entfernt von ihm lag. Die Kaschauer waren der Meinung, dass man auf dem neuen Weg die Hauptstadt des Landes, Ofen unmittelbar, also mit Ausweichung von Kaschau habe erreichen können. Es ist kein Zufall, dass sie schon im Jahre 1510 die am polnischen Handel interessierten Städte (Preschau, Bartfeld) zu einer Beratung zusammenriefen. Kaschau protestierte im Jahre 1514 gegen den Bau und auch gegen das Vornehmen von Szapolyai.<sup>17</sup> Kaschau hatte recht. Nachdem nämlich der Hauptweg von Arwa in entsprechendem Zustand gehalten worden war, hat man von Krakau nach Ofen mit grossen Wagen wirklich leichter fahren können.

1511 wandten sich die Tavernikalstädte an den Herrscher mit dem Wunsch, er möge gegen die Benutzer von den falschen Wegen in Oberungarn, die nicht nur Kaschau umgingen, sondern auch den Dreißigstzoll an den König nicht bezahlten.<sup>18</sup> Dieses Verfahren war also weit verbreitet. Die Benutzung dieser Schleichwege wurde vom Herrscher vergeblich verboten, und die Jagiellonen Könige von Ungarn haben die Privilegien von Kaschau regelmäßig befestigt.<sup>19</sup>

Es hat den Anschein, dass die Affäre des neuen Weges in eine Feindschaft zwischen Kaschau und der Familie Szapolyai überging. Die Stadt wollte bewir-

*Economic History* 5, 1976, 165. Über den Textilhandel von Breslau nach Krakau und Kleinpolen vgl. Myśliwski, Grzegorz, „Wirtschaftsleben an der hohen Straße. Zu den wirtschaftlichen Kontakten Breslaus mit Krakau und anderen kleinpolnischen Städten“, In: Mühle, Eduard (ed.), *Breslau und Krakau im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Stadtgestalt–Wohnraum–Lebensstil*, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2014. 200–201.

<sup>15</sup> Draskóczy, István: „Borkereskedelem a 15–16. század fordulóján. Kassa kiváltságai és borkereskedelme“, In: Benyák, Zoltán – Benyák, Ferenc (ed.), *Borok és korok. Bepillantás a bor kultúrtörténetébe*. Budapest, 2002. 115–130, 379–382.

<sup>16</sup> Farkas, Róbert, *Kassa árumegállító joga*. Kassa, 1893, 19–27.

<sup>17</sup> DF 217 010 (Bardejov 4115.), 217 030 (Bardejov 4133.), 229 379 (Prešov 811.), 269 268 (AMK D-55), 269 290 (AMK E-20), 269 291 (AMK E-21)

<sup>18</sup> DF 243 327 (AMB 5283.).

<sup>19</sup> Farkas, Kassa, (wie Anm. 10.), 19–27. ; Weisz, Boglárka, *Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori magyar királyságban*. Budapest, 2012. 91–97.

ken, dass die Kaufleute nicht durch die im Besitz der Familie Szapolyai stehenden Dreißigstämter ins Land eintreten, bzw. ihre Waren nicht dort verzollen lassen. Hier können wir an die im Besitz von Szapolyai bestandenen Dreißigstämter (z. B. Arwa) denken.<sup>20</sup>

Im Jahre 1516 nahmen die Kaschauer in der Nähe von Schmöllnitz einen Tuchhändler, Michael Spiss aus Krakau fest, der auf dem Turdossiner Weg nach Ungarn hereingefahren war, und sieben Ballen Görlitzer Tuch auf seinem Wagen hatte. Der Krakauer Bürger, der in Erlau (Ungarn) geboren wurde, besuchte oft Ungarn. So hat er auch in der ungarischen Hauptstadt, Ofen Geschäfte abgeschlossen. 1508–1520 lieferte er dem ungarischen Hof auf Kredit Waren. Sein Geschäftspartner, Erasmus Benck hat einmal der Stadt Bartfeld in Ofen 632 Goldgulden Darlehen gewährt. Spiss gewährte den Bergleuten von Zips und Gömör Kredite. 1527 lieferte er Blei der Münzstätte von Kaschau. Nach dem Tod von Johann Thurzó hat er seine Witwe geheiratet. Er vertrat 1519 die Stadt Krakau im polnischen Landtag (Sejm). Nebenbei war er Schultheiß der bei der ungarisch-polnischen Grenze liegenden Stadt, Neumarkt.<sup>21</sup>

Nicht weniger bedeutend war die Familie Benck in Krakau. Sie gehörten zu den reichen Patriziern der Stadt. Sie besaßen Häuser in Leutschau und Kaschau, ein Bergwerk in Göllnitz. Erasmus Benck war häufig in Ofen. Er hatte gute Geschäftskontakte zur Familie Krupeck aus Krakau, die ebenfalls ein Haus in Kaschau besaß.<sup>22</sup>

Es ist schwer zu glauben, dass Spiss nicht gewusst hätte, welche Vorrechte Kaschau besaß. Er ist durch Komitat Arwa nach Ungarn gefahren, weil er Kaschau umgehen wollte.

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<sup>20</sup> Neumann, Tibor (ed.), *A Szapolyai család okmánytára I. Levelek és oklevelek (1458–1526)*. Budapest, 2012. 343.

<sup>21</sup> Sroka, Stanisław A. (ed.), *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego królestwa Węgier...* I–V. Kraków, 1998–2012. IV. 772.sz.; Kubinyi, András, „Budai kereskedők udvari szállításai a Jagelló-korban”, In: Ders., *Tanulmányok Budapest középkori történetéről*. I–II. Eds. Kenyeres, István – Kis, Péter – Sasfi, Csaba. Budapest, 2009. I. 346–347.; Kollmann, Örs László, „Szempontok az észak-gömöri központi helyek középkori és kora-újkorai fejlődésének vizsgálatához”, In: Neumann, Tibor (ed.), *Analecta mediaevalia II. Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Budapest, 2004, 150.; Noga, Zdisław, „Relations between Krakow and Košice in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century”, In: Hajduová, Mária – Bartoš, Martin (ed.), *Košice in the Coordinates of European History*. Košice, 2013, 139. Pieradzka, Krystyna, *Handel Krakowa z węgrami w XVI wieku*. Kraków, 1935. Die Übersetzung des Buches ins Deutsch ist in Maschinenschrift in der Széchényi-Bibliothek (Budapest) vorhanden. Wir beziehen uns auf diese deutschsprachige Variante: Ders., *Der Handel Krakaus mit Ungarn im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1942. 29, 34–35, 56.

<sup>22</sup> *Dokumenty polskie* (wie Anm. 21), V. 1025.sz.; Noga (wie Anm. 21.), 141–142.; Kollmann (wie Anm. 21.), 148–149.

Schmölnitz liegt weit entfernt von Arwa, im südlichen Teil des Komitats Zips. In diese Gegend fuhr man seit dem 13. Jahrhundert von Polen durch die im Komitat Zips liegende ungarische Grenzstadt, Lublau, und das Kupfer und das Eisen der Bergbaugebiete von Zips und Gömör wurden ebenfalls durch Lublau aus Ungarn ausgeführt.<sup>23</sup> Man benutzte also nicht den durch Arwa führenden Weg.

Der Fall selbst deutet aber darauf hin, dass die Angst der Kaschauer nicht unbegründet war, da die Polen durch Arwa auch in diejenigen Regionen Waren, u. a. Tuch befördern konnten, die in den weiteren Anziehungskreis von Kaschau gehörten. Es ist überraschend, dass Kaschau die Kaufleute auch so weit von der Stadt überwachen konnte. Das war so möglich, dass das ganze Hauptdreißigstamt von Kaschau samt seiner Filialen (u. a. Lublau) zu dieser Zeit von der Stadt gepachtet wurde, wodurch diese den Warenverkehr des ganzen Distrikts des Kaschauer Hauptdreißigstamtes, d. h. des nordöstlichen Teils des Landes unter Kontrolle hatte. Die Pacht ermöglichte es also, dass man sich auf das Stapelrecht berufend die von der Stadt weit entfernt fahrenden Kaufleute aufhalten und nach Kaschau zwingen konnte.<sup>24</sup>

Es scheint die Straßen im mittelalterlichen Komitat Arwa früher nicht in den Zustand gewesen zu sein, dass man mit den grossen Wagen darauf hätte verkehren können. Dieser Umstand erklärt, dass die Straße, die durch Kaschau führte, der Hauptverkehrsweg wurde. Als wir diese Fragen prüfen, dürfen wir natürlich die andere Gesichtspunkte nicht vergessen, wie z. B. die Privilegien der Stadt und den Gesichtspunkt, dass sich enge Beziehungen zwischen Krakau und Kaschau seit dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts entwickelt haben.<sup>25</sup>

Die neue Straße war eine der Straßen, die die ungarischen und polnischen Kaufleute benützt haben um den Stapelplatz von Kaschau umzugehen. Dieser Umstand zeigt, dass Kaschau schwach war um die ungarisch-polnische Warentransporte ausschließlich monopolisieren zu können, und die Polen waren an den direkten Beziehungen zu den Bürgern von Ofen interessiert.<sup>26</sup> Die Tatsache, dass

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<sup>23</sup> DF 269 268 (AM D-55).; Domanovszky, Sándor, *A szepesi városok árumegállító joga. Lőcse és Késmárk küzdelme az árumegállításért*. Budapest, 1922, 13. Die Bergstädte Göllnitz, Schmöllnitz gehörten der Familie Szapolyai (*A Szapolyai család* – wie Am. 20.–105, 262–263, 430, DL 71 530.).

<sup>24</sup> Ifj. Kemény Lajos: „A kassai harmincad története”, = *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 1, 1894, 303–306.; Farkas, Kassa, (wie Anm. 10.), 19–27.

<sup>25</sup> Fügedi, Erik, „Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelsstadt am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts”, = *Studia Slavica* 2, 1956, 204, 206–210.; Noga, Relations, (wie Anm. 21.), 138–144.; Sroka, Stanisław A., „The Correspondence of Kraków with Košice in the Middle Ages”, In. *Košice in the Coordinates* (ie Anm. 21.), 74–78.

<sup>26</sup> Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria et Athila*. Ediderunt Colomanus Eperjessy et Ladislaus Juhász. Budapest, 1938. 10, 20.: „Oppidum ipsum Budense celebre est Italis, Germanis, Polonis et nostra hac aetate Turcis mercatoribus eo confluentibus veluti ad totius Hungariae emporium”.

die sogenannten Schleichwege in Oberungarn oft benutzt wurden, zeigt, dass die ökonomischen Interessen die juristischen Regeln übertroffen haben. Auch wenn Kaschau die meisten polnischen Händler zwingen konnten das Stapelrecht der Stadt zu beachten.

Die polnischen Kaufleute konnten auch dadurch nach Ofen fahren, und dort Geschäfte abwickeln, dass sie Bürger einer ungarischen Stadt, vor allen Bürger von Kaschau geworden sind. Wenn jemand Bürgerrechte erworben hat, wurde er den Privilegien der Stadt teilhaftig. Wir wissen, dass Krakauer Häuser in Kaschau kauften, und die Kaschauer das Gleiche taten in Krakau.<sup>27</sup>

Den wirtschaftlichen Ausgang des Streites kennen wir leider nicht. Im Jahre 1526 erlitt das ungarische Heer gegen die Türken eine vernichtende Niederlage. Die Stände wählten zwei Könige, von denen der eine Johann Szapolyai war. Die in unserem Beitrag behandelte Region fiel in den Landesteil des Gegenkönigs, Ferdinand von Habsburg. Leider wurde die ungarische Hauptstadt 1541 von der Türken besetzt, so war Ofen kein Mittelpunkt des Handels des Königreichs Ungarn.<sup>28</sup>

Unsere Fallstudie beleuchtet immerhin, wie eine Magnatenfamilie Ungarns den Außenhandel mit Polen zu beeinflussen versuchte, wobei sie sich einer der größten Handelsstädte und auch dem König widersetzte. Sie handelten nicht unter dem Einfluss wirtschaftspolitischer Motive. Davon, dass sie die verkehrsgeographische Lage von Arwa verbesserten, erhofften sie sich vielmehr einen Vermögenszuwachs.

#### ABKÜRZUNGEN

- AMB – Archív Hlavného Mesta Bratislavy. Mesto Bratislava.
- AMK – Arcív Mesta Košic.
- Bardejov – Štatny Okresný Archív v Bardejove. Mesto Bardejov.
- BB. – Štatny Archív v Banskej Bystrici, Pobočka Banská Bystrica
- DF. – Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény (Budapest)
- DL. – Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény (Budapest)
- Prešov – Štatny Okresny Archív v Prešove. Mesto Prešov.

<sup>27</sup> Noga, Relations, (wie Anm. 21.), 141–142.

<sup>28</sup> Pálffy, Géza, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, Budapest, 2009, 41–51, 148–149.

## KONKORDANZ DER GEOGRAPHISCHEN NAMEN

Arwa (Slowakei)	–	Orava (sl.), Árva (ung.)
Bartfeld (Slowakei)	–	Bardejov (sl.), Bátfá (ung.)
Breslau (Polen)	–	Wrocław (pl.), Boroszló (ung.)
Danzig (Polen)	–	Gdansk (pol.), Dancka (ung.)
Długopolje (Polen)		
Erlau (Ungarn)	–	Eger (ung.)
Göllnitz (Slowakei)	–	Gelnica (sl.), Gölnicbánya (ung.)
Gömör (Komitat) (Slowakei)	–	Gemer (sl.), Gömör (ung.)
Humenau (Slowakei)	–	Humenné (sl.), Homonna (ung.)
Jablonka (Polen)	–	Jablonka (pol.), Jablonka (ung.)
Krakau (Polen)	–	Kraków (pol.), Krakkó (ung.)
Kaschau (Slowakei)	–	Košice (sl.), Kassa (ung.)
Leutschau (Slowakei)	–	Levoča (sl.), Lőcse (ung.)
Likawa (Slowakei)	–	Likavka (sl.), Likava (ung.)
Liptau (Komitat)	–	Liptov (sl.), Liptó (ung.)
Lublau (Slowakei)	–	Stará Lubovňa (sl.), Lubló (ung.)
Meyslanitz (Polen)	–	Myślenice (pol.)
Munkatsch (Ukrainen)	–	Mukacsevo (ukr.), Munkács (ung.)
Neumarkt (Polen)	–	Nowy Targ (pol.)
Neusohl (Slowakei)	–	Banská Bystrica (sl.), Besztercebánya (ung.)
Ofen (Ungarn)	–	Buda (ung.)
Preschau (Slowakei)	–	Prešov (sl.), Eperjes (ung.)
Sillein (Slowakei)	–	Žilina (sl.), Zsolna (ung.)
Scharosch (Komitat) (Slowakei)	–	Šariš (s.), Sáros (ung.)
Schmöllnitz (Slowakei)	–	Smolník (sl.), Szomolnok (ung.)
Sztropkó (Slowakei)	–	Stropkov (sl.), Sztropkó (ung.)
Thorn (Polen)	–	Toruń (pol.)
Trentschin (Slowakei)	–	Trenčín (sl.), Trencsén (ung.)
Tschenstochau (Polen)	–	Częstochowa (pl.)
Turdossin (Slowakei)	–	Tvrdošín (sl.), Turdossin (ung.)
Turz (Komitat) (Slowakei)	–	Turec (sl.), Turóc (ung.)
Tyrnau Slowakei)	–	Trnava (sl.), Nagyszombat (ung.)
Venedig (Italien)	–	Venezia (it.)
Wieliczka (Polen)		
Zips (Komitat) (Slowakei)	–	Spiš (sl.), Szepes (ung.)
Zywetz Polen)	–	Żywiec (pol.)





ATTILA GYÖRKÖS\*

## AVENTURIER SANS SCRUPULES OU HÉROS NATIONAL? LA CARRIÈRE DE CHRISTOPHE FRANGEPAN, ARISTOCRATE DE LA RENAISSANCE

Christophe Frangepan fut un des rares magnats hongrois qui ont vécu l'idéal de la Renaissance en leur temps sans avoir fait de longues études universitaires en Italie ou touché à la bibliophilie humaniste, mais qui ont réalisé une carrière militaire et une façon de vivre que l'on pourrait facilement décrire comme machiavélique.

Aristocrate croato-hongrois, comte en Dalmatie, il a conduit une carrière très mouvementée. Chef de guerre aux côtés des Habsbourg, il participa aux combats de la Ligue de Cambrai, passa des années dans les prisons de la Seigneurie vénitienne, puis François I<sup>er</sup> l'engagea dans sa campagne de Pavie. Accusé de s'allier aux Turcs, c'est pourtant lui qui libéra la ville de Jajca du siège mis par le pacha de Bosnie. Il défendit ses territoires contre les Ottomans en profitant de l'aide financière de Ferdinand I<sup>er</sup> mais, après la bataille de Mohács, il devint partisan de Szapolyai et trouva la mort en 1527 luttant pour la cause de Jean I<sup>er</sup> de Hongrie.

Un personnage contradictoire dans une époque mouvementée. Un des meilleurs représentants de la transformation des attitudes de l'aristocratie hongroise de l'époque de la Renaissance.

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En Autriche, plus exactement dans le *Land* de Carinthie, dans l'église paroissiale d'Obervellach, se trouve un magnifique triptyque, réalisé par Jan van Scorel, peintre néerlandais, ancien élève de Dürer, qui représente sur le panneau droit saint Christophe, en forme classique d'un géant barbu portant sur ses épaules l'enfant Jésus.<sup>1</sup> Cette petite ville carinthienne appartenait à Christophe Frangepan par dot de son épouse, Apollonia Lang, elle-même soeur de l'archevêque de Salzbourg, Matthäus Lang. Etant donné que, sur le volet gauche, nous avons la

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<sup>1</sup> V. l'image à la fin de l'article.

figure d'Apollonia en position de donatrice et sachant que, selon le biographe de Scorel, le rétable fut réalisé vers 1520, quelques années après sa mort par la commande de son mari,<sup>2</sup> nous pouvons supposer que dans la forme de saint Christophe l'auteur néerlandais représenta les traits du comte de Frangepan, son mécène. Donc, si notre hypothèse est vérifiée, nous pouvons ajouter une autre peinture réaliste au portrait-tableau si mal connu de la haute noblesse hongroise de l'époque.

Qui était cet aristocrate d'origine croato-dalmatienne, magnat de la Hongrie médiévale, seigneur autrichien, chef de guerre reconnu par l'empereur? Son personnage, d'ailleurs fort mal connu, suscita dans l'historiographie des avis forts accentués: „*Il fut le spécimen du condottiere, du Landsknecht au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*”<sup>3</sup>, „*Un des plus talentueux mercenaires de son époque*”<sup>4</sup>, ou bien „*héros national*”<sup>5</sup>, étant le seul à protéger efficacement la Trans-Danubie contre les Turcs après la bataille perdue à Mohács en 1526.

Christophe Frangepan (v. 1482–1527) est issu d'un des plus grandes familles de la Croatie médiévale. Tout comme son père, il fut comte de Modrus,<sup>6</sup> du port Zengg<sup>7</sup> et également de l'île de Veglia<sup>8</sup> dans l'Adriatique. Sa soeur Béatrice devint l'épouse du plus riche magnat de Hongrie, Jean Corvin, fils naturel du feu roi Mathias I<sup>er</sup> (1458–1490); et, comme on l'a vu, les relations familiales des Frangepan surpassèrent les cadres du royaume, pour s'étendre sur l'Autriche et également, on le verra plus tard, sur la République vénitienne.

Seigneur des propriétés transfrontalières, Christophe devait défendre ses territoires contre les incursions turques devenues quasi quotidiennes au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour jouer un rôle non sans importance dans la cour du roi, mais il pouvait aussi faire de carrière dans l'Empire, soldé par les Habsbourg. Ainsi, dans la guerre de la Ligue de Cambrai, comme capitaine de l'armée de Maximilien I<sup>er</sup> (1493–1519), il montra son talent militaire en occupant quatre châteaux

<sup>2</sup> Hoogewerff, Godefridus J., *Jan van Scorel, peintre de la renaissance hollandaise*, La Haye, 1923. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *A Frangepán család oklevéltára*. [Chartes relatives à la famille des Frangepan] Ed. Thallóczy, Lajos – Barabás, Samu, Budapest, 1913. I–II. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria. 38.) t. II. XLIII. (v. plus tard: *Frangepán oklevéltár*)

<sup>4</sup> Kulcsár, Péter, *A Jagelló-kor*, [L'époque des Jagellons] Budapest, 1981. 198.

<sup>5</sup> „*De nouveau, il n'y a qu'un seul homme, Christophe Frangepan qui organise la défense active. Sa petite armée, composée de quelques centaines de soldats présente une menace continue dans le dos des Turcs.*” Szakály, Ferenc, *A mohácsi csata*, [La bataille de Mohács] Budapest, 1975. 38. (trad. par A. Gy.)

<sup>6</sup> Modruš, ville en Croatie. Ce modeste village de nos jours fut au Moyen Âge le chef-lieu d'un comitat de même nom et appartenait aux Frangepan à partir de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>7</sup> Senj, ville en Croatie.

<sup>8</sup> Île de Krk en Croatie.

des Vénitiens en Frioul. Capturé en 1514, prisonnier de la Seigneurie, puis livré quatre ans plus tard aux autorités françaises<sup>9</sup> (pour une raison inconnue), il réussit à s'évader de sa captivité de Milan.

Fatigué et devenu veuf, il était retiré dans ses domaines autrichiens où il jouait au mécène, puis on le retrouve dans l'entourage archiepiscopal de son beau-frère à Salzbourg.<sup>10</sup>

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Parmi plus de 200 000 documents sur l'époque médiévale, les Archives nationales de Hongrie n'en conservent que deux en langue française. Étrangement, tous les deux concernent la vie de Christophe Frangepan. Ils font le témoignage d'une relation forte complexe avec la France de l'époque.

Le premier de ces documents fut délivré à Valenciennes<sup>11</sup> et date du 29 octobre de l'année 1521. Son texte, édité par Lajos Thallóczy, présente Christophe dans une situation fort pénible:

*„Monsieur le grant tres cher et honoré,*

*Je vous prie que me prestez presentement trente ecus et le deserviray pardevers vous et il vous plaisera tenir cest present chapelet jusques a ce que les vous renderay, sy vous prie me veuillez succurir en cest mon besoing en me recommendant a votre bonne grace.*

*Escript a Valencienes, le .XXIX. jour d'octobre .XV.<sup>e</sup> et vingt-ung.*

*Par l'entierement votre serviteur et amy, Cristoforo Frangepano, conte*”<sup>12</sup>

Quelle était la raison de la présence d'un comte de l'Europe centrale au Pays-Bas; et par quel „besoing” devait-il mettre en gage son chapeau contre trente écus? Le temps et le lieu de cette histoire nous permettent à penser que Christophe fut engagé dans l'armée impériale alors en combat avec les Français, puisqu'une semaine avant l'édition de cette lettre de gage, les troupes de

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<sup>9</sup> V. *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. 322. (document n° CCCXII), le 29 août 1518. Amboise.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. la lettre de l'archevêque d'Esztergom, Tamás Bakóc, écrite au début de l'an 1521: „*Christoferus comes, qui paulo ante ex carce[re Christi]anissimi regis Francie in Mediolano fit elapsus, non erat in Croatia cum patre et germano suo Ferrando, s[ed] ver i[n] Germania apud dominum Salczburgensem*”. Dans: *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. 352. (document n° CCCXVIII).

<sup>11</sup> Valenciennes,auj. en France, dép. Nord. Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la ville appartenait au comté de Hainaut et relevait donc du domaine impérial.

<sup>12</sup> Budapest, Archives nationales de Hongrie, DL 26639. Édité dans: *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. 356–357.

François I<sup>er</sup> encerclaient les Impériaux qui ne pouvaient s'échapper que par une habile manœuvre tactique.<sup>13</sup> Frangepan a certainement réussi à s'enfuir, lui aussi, puisqu'il reçoit – quelques mois plus tard – une charte de commémoration de ses actes héroïques de la main de l'empereur Charles Quint.<sup>14</sup> Lors de l'année 1522, Christophe, en compagnie de son père, Bernardin, intervenait à la Diète de Nuremberg pour solliciter une aide financière impériale au profit des forteresses hongroises situées à la frontière turque.<sup>15</sup>

La vie de Frangepan a donc été marquée par son engagement à la solde des Habsbourg en Italie ou dans les pays néerlandais, tout comme – en raison de la position géographique de ses domaines – par la défense de la Hongrie méridionale contre les Ottomans. C'est à cette carrière classique d'un aristocrate hongrois que nous devons ajouter un autre élément – fort surprenant et difficilement explicable.

Dans le second document de langue français conservé aux Archives nationales de Hongrie, une charte éditée par le roi de France, nous retrouvons le nom de Christophe. Ce mandat royal, longtemps mal identifié,<sup>16</sup> nous révèle une position tout à fait différente de ce que l'on pouvait attendre d'un ancien soldat des Habsbourg. Voici le texte:

*„De par le Roy, Duc de Millan, Seigneur de Gennes,*

*A tous noz lieutenants et gouverneurs, admiraulx, visadmiraulx, mareschaulx, cappitaines, cheffz et conducteurs de noz gens de guerre, et autres noz justiciers et officiers ou a leurs lieutenants, salut et dillection. Savoir vous faisons que nous avons retenu et retenons en notre service notre cher et bien a[i]mé Christofer Francapan, frere du conte Jehan Francapan, et luy avons donné et d[o]nnons la charge et conduite de par nous de dix mil hommes de pied, quinze cens chevaulx ligers, six galleres et deux gallions equippez comme il est requis. Lesquelz il nous doibt fournir pour estre emploiez sur noz ennemys, ainsi qu'il luy sera par nous ou notre lieutenant general ordonné. Et iceulx soudoyera ou fera soudoyer sur les terres de notre ennemys tant par mer que par terre que*

<sup>13</sup> Les informations les plus précises sur les opérations sont dans les rapports des ambassadeurs anglais: Brewer, John Sherren, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, London, 1867. III. 709–725.

<sup>14</sup> Le 14 mars 1522. Bruxelles. Dans: *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. 359–361. (document n° CCCXXIV)

<sup>15</sup> Dans: *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. 369–370. (documents n°s CCCXXXII et CCCXXXIII). V. également: E. Kovács, Péter, “Ferdinánd főherceg és Magyarország, 1521–1526” [L’archiduc Ferdinand de Habsbourg et la Hongrie], = *Történelmi Szemle* XLV, 2003: 1–2. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Dans les registres des Archives nationales de Hongrie ce document fut identifié comme une lettre du duc de Milan.

*pour ce faire luy avons habandonnées dans ce qu'ilz nous reviennent ne tournent a aucune charge. Si vous mandons que a la conduite de ses gens de pied, chevaulx ligers, galleres et gallions vous faictes obeyr ledit Christofer Frangepan entierement de tous ceulx et ainsi qu'il appartieng [c]es choses touchans et concernans ladite charge. Car tel est notre plaisir. Donnée a la Chartreuse pres Pavie. Le .IIII.<sup>me</sup> jour de novembre, l'an mil cinq cens vingt quatre.*

*Par le Roy, duc de Millan  
De Neufville*<sup>17</sup>

Pour résumer le contenu du document, on voit que le roi de France informe les officiers du royaume sur le fait que François I<sup>er</sup> donne le mandat à Christophe Frangepan de recruter une armée et d'attaquer ses ennemis dans la campagne de Pavie.

Comment un aristocrate hongrois, ancien prisonnier des Français peut-il être engagé par le Valois et quelles étaient ses missions? Pour répondre à ces questions, nous devons envisager l'arrière-plan historique des années 1524–1525, mais nous devons avouer que nous n'avons de solutions concluantes.

Dans cette phase du „grand duel”<sup>18</sup> entre les Valois et les Habsbourg, appelée communément les „guerres d'Italie”, le roi de France, après avoir occupé le Milanais, voulait couronner ses victoires par la prise de la ville de Pavie. Les événements sont bien connus: quatre mois après le début du siège, le 24 février 1525, les forces impériales ont complètement battu les troupes françaises. François I<sup>er</sup> fut capturé pour ne reprendre sa liberté qu'une année plus tard, après avoir signé la paix humiliante de Madrid en janvier 1526.<sup>19</sup>

La chartre citée ci-haut fut éditée dans la première phase du siège. Les Français se sont installés devant la forte citadelle de Pavie le 28 octobre 1524 et, si les attaques continuelles n'ont guère de résultats, ils comptent sur le temps. Il est vrai, contre les 30 000 hommes de François<sup>20</sup> il n'y avait que 9000 défenseurs

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<sup>17</sup> Budapest, Archives nationales de Hongrie, DL 25711. Édité par Györkös, Attila, „Magyar hadvezér a páviai hadjáratban? Adatok a Frangepán család történetéhez és Frangepán Kristóf I. Ferenc francia királyhoz fűződő kapcsolatához.” [Un chef de guerre dans la campagne de Pavie? Informations à l'histoire de la famille de Frangepan] = *Turul* LXXXV, 2012: 2. 41–45.

<sup>18</sup> Pour le terme v. Bély, Lucien, „La rivalité avec la France. Les historiens et l'impossible duel entre François I<sup>er</sup> et Charles Quint”, *Carlo Quinto. Europeismo y Universalidad*, Castellano, Juan Luis – Sanchez Montes Gonzalez, eds. Madrid, 2001. t. III. 75–84.

<sup>19</sup> Pour la documentation de ces événements v.: Champollion-Figeac, Aimé, *Captivité du roi François I<sup>er</sup>*. Paris, 1847.

<sup>20</sup> Jacquart, Jean, *François I<sup>er</sup>*. Paris, 1981. 131. L'historien britannique Angus Konstam estime cette armée plus grande, soit 33 000 hommes. V. Konstam, Angus, *Pavia 1525. The Climax of*

dans la ville et et encore 7000 Impériaux dans la région. Pourtant Charles Quint s'efforça de libérer Pavie tout comme l'ensemble du duché, et son vice-roi, Charles de Lannoy a réussi, pendant les longs mois du siège, à ramasser une force qui était finalement suffisante pour remporter la victoire.

L'archiduc Ferdinand de l'Autriche, les villes et les Etats impériaux donnèrent 12 000–15 000 cavaliers et fantassins sous le commandement du fameux capitaine Georg von Frundsberg.<sup>21</sup> Pour garder la force numérique, les Français ont engagé en décembre Giovanni Medici, alias *Bande Nere*, un mercenaire italien renommé qui était auparavant soldé par l'empereur, mais qui, se sentant disgracié, s'était rallié avec ses 4500 hommes au camp de François I<sup>er</sup>. Un mois plus tard, le Toscan Renzo de Céri suivit son exemple avec 3000 gens de pied italiens et Gênes assurera un support d'artillerie.<sup>22</sup>

Il nous semble que le mandat royal donné à Christophe Frangepan faisait partie de ces efforts français pour maintenir une supériorité militaire. Nous sommes quand-même moins certains des conditions. Pourquoi lui? Quel était exactement son devoir? Où, quand et contre qui devait-il aller au combat?

Notre document l'évoque comme „*notre cher et bien aimé Christofer Franca-pan, frere du conte Jehan Francapan*”. Ce dernier était donc un personnage déjà connu dans l'entourage du roi français. Il ne l'est pas dans l'historiographie moderne. Tout ce que l'on sait de lui c'est qu'une année plus tard, en décembre de 1525, en tant qu'ambassadeur de François I<sup>er</sup>, Jean partira pour Istanbul en apportant une lettre d'appel au secours du roi prisonnier et rapportera la réponse de Soliman au printemps suivant.<sup>23</sup>

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*the Italian Wars*. London, 1996. 33. Pourtant, selon le chroniqueur florentin Guicciardini, leur nombre était encore plus important: „le roi (...) disposait de deux mille lances [donc à peu près 12 000 cavaliers], huit mille fantassins allemands, six mille Suisses, six mille aventuriers, quatre mille Italiens, dont le nombre augmenta encore peu après”. Guicciardini, Francesco, *Histoire d'Italie*. Paris, 1996. t. II. 288.

<sup>21</sup> Konstam, *Pavia 1525*, 46.

<sup>22</sup> V. l'ouvrage ancien, mais toujours le plus détaillé, de Simonde de Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du Moyen Age*. Paris, 1815. IX. 363–365.

<sup>23</sup> Garnier, Edith, *L'Alliance impie: François I<sup>er</sup> et Soliman le Magnifique contre Charles Quint*, Paris, 2008, 14. ; Clot, André, *Soliman le Magnifique*, Paris, 1983. 172–178. Pour la documentation v. Berthier, Annie, „Un document retrouvé: La première lettre de Soliman au roi François I<sup>er</sup> (1526)” = *Turcica* 27 (1995) 263–266. ; Paillard, Charles-Hippolyte, „Documents relatifs aux projets d'évasion de François I<sup>er</sup>, prisonnier à Madrid, ainsi qu'à la situation intérieure de la France en 1525, en 1542 et en 1544” = *Revue Historique* 8 (1878) 297–367. ; Charrière, Ernest, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*. Paris, 1847. I. 112–121. Sur les relations franco-turques en 1525–1526 v. également: Györkös, Attila, „Mohács és a török-francia szövetség, avagy a 'Nyugat árulásának' mítosza.” [La bataille de Mohács et l'alliance franco-turque ou le 'mythe de la trahison de l'Occident'] In: *A magyar emlékeztethelyek kutatásának elméleti és módszertani alapjai*. Eds. S. Varga, Pál – Száraz, Orsolya – Takács, Miklós. Debrecen, 2013. 339–351.

Le 28 mars de 1526 lorsque Jean, „frère” de Christophe passe par Venise, le mémorialiste italien Marino Sanuto le décrit comme: „*Jean de Frangepan fut fils du comte André, le frère germain du comte Bernardin, père du comte Christophe et notre noble*”.<sup>24</sup> Donc, suivant Sanuto, Jean et Christophe ne seraient pas frères mais cousins germains. Lajos Thallóczy et Pál Engel ont essayé d’esquisser les relations familiales fort complexes des Frangepan.<sup>25</sup> Selon leurs résultats, les affirmations du Vénitien ne sont pas correctes: les deux personnages devraient être cousins de troisième degré. Mais quoiqu’il en soit de leur parenté, de la carrière de Jean nous ne nous ne connaissions jusqu’alors que son ambassade turque. Le document ci-dessus présenté est donc la preuve unique qui nous informe sur ses relations françaises avant 1525.

Le mandat royal rapporte que Christophe devait engager une division composée de 10 000 fantassins et de 1500 cavaliers légers et équiper six galères et deux gallions. Cette force aurait représenté une armée grandiose sur le terrain italien, au moins le tiers des troupes du roi. Et l’on a déjà vu que le renforcement à hauteur de 12 000–15 000 hommes des Impériaux a finalement décidé du sort de la campagne.

Il nous est donc difficile de croire en la réelle existence de cette armée de Frangepan. Un contingent militaire d’une telle taille aurait dû inévitablement attirer l’attention des contemporains très bien renseignés, mais aucune de nos sources n’en fait mention.

La deuxième question concerne la cible. Où cette armée devait-elle faire la guerre? Le texte est très général: „*sur les terres de notre ennemys tant par mer que par terre*”. Par ennemis, nous devons comprendre les Habsbourg. Mais la mention des galères et gallions suppose qu’une aide navale était nécessaire pour cette offensive.

Lors de la campagne de Pavie, il y a eu deux actions militaires d’un tel caractère. Dans les premiers jours de décembre, les Espagnols voulaient débarquer près de Gênes un renfort de 18 000 hommes, opération empêchée par la flotte génoise et par les soldats du marquis de Saluces.<sup>26</sup>

A cette même époque, espérant la capitulation imminente de Pavie, le roi de France envoya l’Écossais John Stewart pour occuper Naples, mais ce duc d’Albany ne possédait que 100 lances, 300 cavaliers légers et 4600 fantassins.<sup>27</sup>

Les deux opérations sont toutes deux bien documentées, mais ni le personnage de Frangepan, ni son armée ne sont mentionnés.

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<sup>24</sup> „*Zuan di Frangipani, fo fiol dil conte Andrea, zerman dil conte Bernardin, padre dil conte Cristoforo et nobile nostro*”. *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*. Ed. Barozzi, Nicolò, Venezia, 1894. XLI. 119.

<sup>25</sup> Engel, Pál, *Középkori magyar genealógia*. [Généalogie de la Hongrie médiévale] CD-ROM. Budapest, 2001.

<sup>26</sup> Konstam, *Pavia 1525*, 40–41.

<sup>27</sup> Lemonnier, Henri, *Henri II, la lutte contre la Maison d’Autriche (1519–1559)*. Paris, 1983. 44.

Une information de peu plus ultérieure nous peut donner l'espoir de retrouver son terrain d'activité. Dans une lettre du 14 mars 1525, l'archiduc Ferdinand rapporte à son frère, Charles Quint les faits suivants: „*Semblablement avoit icelluy roy de France practiqué avec le conte Christofle de Frangebamz que tant avec quelque nombre de ses gens, comme à l'aide des Turcz de Bosna qu'est prez de Croacie, il deust entrer en mes pays de Carniole et Styria, et me faire la guerre, dont est suivy que lesdictz Turcz ont entrez en mondit pays et faiz quelque petit dommaige, et eussent bien fait plus grand, n'eust esté la provision que auparavant j'avoie faicte, laquelle chose vint à ma cognoissance par ung gentilhomme ytalien qui menoit la pratique avec ledit conte Christofle, lequel, par le capitaine de ma ville de Marran<sup>28</sup> en Frioie, fut prins prisonnier et envoié vers moy en ceste ville d'Ysproug,<sup>29</sup> où encoires le tiens en prison*”.<sup>30</sup>

Tout semble être clair: François I<sup>er</sup> engage Christophe Frangepan pour recruter une armée, et lui attaque, à l'aide du pacha de Bosnie, les domaines des Habsbourg en Autriche, empêchant ainsi Ferdinand de prêter assistance aux Impériaux en Italie.

Ce sentiment peut être renforcé par quelques mots déjà cités du mandat royal: „*Et iceulx soudoyera ou fera soudoyer sur les terres de notre ennemys tant par mer que par terre que pour ce faire luy avons habandonnées dans ce qu'ilz nous reviennent ne tournent a aucune charge*”. L'armée donc n'était pas payée par le roi directement, mais elle aurait dû être financée par le butin, la réquisition. Une forme de guerre typique des incursions turques.

Nous avons quand-même d'autres informations qui peuvent remettre en question toute cette hypothèse attirante.

D'une part, la composition de l'armée n'est pas celle des razzias rapides, puisqu'elle contient huit fois plus de fantassins que de cavaliers légers. D'autre part, ni la chronologie, ni la logique des événements ne forment une narration cohérente.

Une des lettres de Christophe Frangepan, conservée dans les *Diarii* de Marino Sanuto, relate les attaques turques touchant les confins de la Croatie, en particulier les domaines de son père, Bernardin. La date et le lieu du document sont forts intéressants: Buda, le 15 novembre 1524.<sup>31</sup> Si Christophe avait reçu un

<sup>28</sup> Merano,auj. ville en Italie, à 15 km de Bolzano.

<sup>29</sup> Innsbruck, ville en Autriche.

<sup>30</sup> *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.* Ed. Lanz, Karl. Leipzig, 1844. I. (No. 64) 155.

<sup>31</sup> „...*el Turcho se mette in ordine cum grandissimi preparamenti contra la Cristianitade, e mai cessa a desfar quella povera Corvatia. Et l'altro zorno fece una corraria sopra certa rocha del nostro signor padre ditta Scherad [Skrad] et Dubovaz, et hanno menato molte anime via, el resto hanno per focho cremato quanto hanno possuto trovare*”. In: “Marino Sanuto világkrónikájának Magyarországot illető tudósításai.” [Les notes de Marino Sanuto concernant la Hongrie], Ed. Wenzel, Gusztáv = *Történelmi Tár* XXV. (1878) 321–322. (v. plus tard: *Történelmi Tár*).



mandat royal français à Pavie, au Nord de l'Italie le 4 novembre, comment aurait-il pu composer une lettre onze jours plus tard au cœur de la Hongrie? Physiquement, un bon cavalier pouvait certainement franchir cette distance de presque mille kilomètres – même si les rapports diplomatiques entre Buda et Venise, ville moins lointaine, voyageaient durant seize jours en moyenne<sup>32</sup> – mais la logique le contredit. Un chef de guerre engagé pour lutter contre les ennemis du roi français n'avait rien à faire au même moment en Hongrie, et surtout il est difficile de l'imaginer en se lamentant sur les dommages causés par ces mêmes Turcs qu'il aurait dû commander – en tous cas selon les propos de Ferdinand. On peut supposer évidemment que Frangepan n'était pas présent lors de la rédaction du mandat de François I<sup>er</sup>. Sanuto aurait pu également se tromper dans sa datation. Cependant, rien ne montre que, dans ces mois là, Christophe Frangepan jouait un rôle dans un quelconque complot anti-Habsbourgeois.

En effet, le 9 décembre de la même année Christophe, son père, ses frères et d'autres aristocrates hongrois recevaient 1200 florins d'or de la part de Ferdinand pour la lutte contre les Ottomans.<sup>33</sup> Il est encore plus intéressant de constater que les raids du pacha de Bosnie en automne de 1524 et au printemps de l'an suivant touchaient gravement les domaines des Frangepan. Le 20 février 1525, Bernardin, père de Christophe se plaint que les Turcs avaient attaqué ses territoires de Modrus et que plus de 2 000 habitants avaient dû s'enfuir.<sup>34</sup>

Il nous est difficile d'esquisser l'image d'un Frangepan, allié à François I<sup>er</sup> et au pacha de Bosnie et qui se plaint en même temps de la menace des Infidèles dont les attaques ravagent les domaines de sa famille.

En plus, c'est lui encore qui commandera la division mixte, composée des soldats hongrois et autrichiens qui, le 15 juin 1525, sauvera la forteresse de

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<sup>32</sup> Chiffre compté à partir des notes de Sanuto concernant les années 1524–1525. Le temps le plus rapide de l'arrivée vénitienne d'une lettre datée à Buda fut 12 jours, mais les 15–17 jours sont plus typiques.

<sup>33</sup> „Wir haben etlichen Krabatischen Grn. benentlich Gr. Johansen von Karbaw, ban in Krabaten, Cristofen, Wolfgang, Georgen, Mathiasen, Grn. von Frangepan und Stefan Blagy allen samentlich 1200 gl. R. damit sy sich disen winter enthalten und den Turcken desster statlicher widersteen mugen, aus gnaden zegeben zugesagt”. La lettre écrite d'Innsbruck fut éditée dans: *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára*. [Chartes relatives aux parties méridionales de la Hongrie] Ed. Thallóczy, Lajos – Hodinka, Antal. Budapest, 1903. I–II. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria. 31.) I. (No. CCLXXXIII) 447. (v. plus tard: *Magyarország melléktartományainak...*).

<sup>34</sup> *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. (No. CCCXLIV) 375. Cette information est renforcée par un rapport vénitien plus tardif: „Di Veia di ser Agustin Valier proveditor di 28. marzo vene heri, come Turchi hanno corso et brusa Modrusa locho dil conte Bernardin Frangipani, et menato via assa anime et animali. Et piu di 500 fameie e passa im Puia, la Marcha e l'Apruzo per salvarsi...” In: *Történelmi Tár*, 323.

Jajca<sup>35</sup> assiégée par les Ottomans. Cette armée fut financée en partie par l'archiduc Ferdinand.<sup>36</sup>

Frangepan, qui a reçu pour cet exploit le titre honorifique „*Regnorum Dalmatie, Croatie et Slavonie specialis tutor atque protector*”,<sup>37</sup> était un homme de passion: en automne, lors d'une querelle dont la raison ne nous est pas parvenue, il gifla l'archevêque d'Esztergom et dut passer quelques jours en prison. Ajoutons que le prélat lui avait tiré la barbe...<sup>38</sup>

A la veille de l'attaque turque de 1526, il se trouvait à Spire où, le 1<sup>er</sup> août, ses services furent gratifiés par l'archiduc de 1000 florins d'or.<sup>39</sup> Ses actes plus tardifs ont été déjà énumérés: il organisa la défense de la Trans-Danubie après la défaite de Mohács. A la suite de la bataille désastreuse, où le jeune roi Louis II trouva la mort, la Hongrie fut divisée entre deux prétendants: Ferdinand de Habsbourg (1526–1564) et Jean Szapolyai (1526–1541), voïvode de Transylvanie. Son ancien tuteur, l'archiduc d'Autriche, comptait sur Frangepan: il lui a demandé d'organiser une diète croate pour soutenir la cause des Habsbourg. Frangepan l'a refusé et a pris le parti de Jean Szapolyai.

Ce héros des guerres italiennes et turques était souvent à la solde des Habsbourg, mais son engagement envers eux – dans la dernière phase de sa vie – devait être ébranlé, et sa courte coquetterie française peut être le premier signe d'un tournant qui lui a fait dire après Mohács qu'il vaut mieux se plier aux Turcs que vivre sous le pouvoir des Allemands.<sup>40</sup>

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Christophe Frangepan trouva la mort le 27 septembre 1527 lors de la défense de Varasd<sup>41</sup> assiégé par les troupes des Habsbourg.<sup>42</sup> Une vie faite de contradiction prenait fin.

<sup>35</sup> Jajce,auj. ville en Bosnie-Herzégovine.

<sup>36</sup> V. Thallóczy, Lajos, *Jajcza (bánság, vár és város) története 1450–1527*. [L'histoire de Jajce] Budapest, 1915. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria, 40). CCXXXVIII–CCLIV.

<sup>37</sup> Thallóczy, *Jajcza*, CCL.

<sup>38</sup> Kulcsár, *A Jagelló-kor*, 227.

<sup>39</sup> *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. (No. CCCLV) 381.

<sup>40</sup> „*unicha voce dicono tutti Signori nobili et el popolo che prima vono renderse al Turcho che essere sotto Alemanni*” Lettre du 29 septembre 1526 de Christophe Frangepan au patricien de Venise, Antonio Dandolo. In: *Történelmi Tár*, 381.

<sup>41</sup> Varaždin,auj en Croatie.

<sup>42</sup> *Frangepán oklevéltár*, II. XLVI. et Pálffy, Géza, «A török elleni védelmi rendszer szervezésének története a kezdetektől a 18. század végéig.» [L'histoire du système de la défense contre les Turcs jusqu'au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle] = *Történelmi Szemle* 38 (1996/2–3) 177 et note 36.



*Le triptyque d'Obervellach*



## HUNGARIAN ARISTOCRATIC WOMEN'S LAST WILLS FROM THE LATE MIDDLE AGES (1440–1526). ADDITIONAL DATA TO THEIR PIETY AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS\*

This essay summarizes the researches into women's history in its short introductory part. The topic does not belong to the most popular themes in Hungary, however, gender studies are widely spread in the West-European practice.<sup>1</sup> It must be emphasized that the topic was dealt in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by Sándor Takács. Nowadays the examination of women's history generally appears in genealogical works and in the researches into citizens and cities.<sup>2</sup> The matter is analysed by the researchers ex-

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\* This essay composes a part of a larger research, my PhD Thesis deals with Hungarian Noble Women's Last Wills in the Late Middle Ages. Here I have to express my thanks to Géza Érszegi and István Draskóczy for their help.

<sup>1</sup> This topic is such popular among the Western-European historians, that the research has a great and constantly increasing bibliography, so enumerating the countless treatises would exceed the compass of this essay. Let me brief it shortly. The research has been begun already from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century: Hill, Georgina, *Women in English Life from Medieval to Modern Times*. I–II. London, 1896, and the popularity of the topic is signed by the title of Kaltenstadler, Wilhelm, *Frauen – die Bessere Hälfte der Geschichte*. Groß-Gerau, 2008. There is a work of 5 volumes about the women's history: Duby, Georges – Perrot, Michelle (eds.), *A History of Women in the West. I–V*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London, 1994–1996. I think it is worth mentioning the homepages: *Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index*, which aim is to collect the essays and articles and book reviews about women, sexuality, and gender during the Middle Ages: <http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/Default.aspx> (Download: October 24, 2014) and *Women in World History*: <http://www.womeninworldhistory.com/index.html> (Download: October 25, 2014). And there is an encyclopedia about the topic also: Margaret Schaus (ed.), *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe. Encyclopedia*. New York – London, 2006. Or, „To all working mothers”, In: M. Philips, Kim (ed.), *A cultural history of women in the middle ages*. II. London–New Delhi–New York–Sydney, 2013. And to present a closely up-to-date summary of the German speech area which is written as a course-book: Nolte, Cordula, *Frauen und Männer in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*. Darmstadt, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Let me list only the most important Hungarian works which discuss the topic of last wills. I do not cite all the publications, because Beáta Kulcsár collected most of them in her last work. Otherwise Mária Lupescu Makó summarizes the European bibliography in her essays in details. In lack of place I cite only the summarizing work of Katalin Szende, but several works of her could be listed here. – Somogyi, Ferenc, *Végrendelkezés nemesi magánjogunk szerint 1000-től 1715-ig*. [Making a Last Will Due to Our Nobleright between 1000–1715.] Pécs, 1937.; Entz, Géza, „Középkori végrendeletek művészeti vonatkozásai” [The Artistic Aspects of the Medieval Testaments], = *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 2, 1953, 171–175.; Solymosi, László, „Középkori végrendeleteink forrásértékéről” [About the Source Value of Our Medieval Last Wills], = *Tiszatáj* 28,

amining hagiography from a different point of view.<sup>3</sup> Regarding the early Modern Times, the investigations of Katalin Péter must be mentioned besides other researches.<sup>4</sup>

1974, 26–29.; Solymosi, László, „A helytörténet fontosabb forrásainak kutatása és hasznosítása” [The Investigation and Exploitation of the Local History’s More Important Medieval Sources], = *Történelmi Szemle* 19, 1976, 133–136.; Solymosi, László, „Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mortuárium a 11–14. századi Magyarországon” [Ecclesiastical and Lay (Nobelman) Mortuary in Hungary from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries], = *Századok* 120, 1987, 547–583.; Kubinyi, András, „Főúri és nemesi végrendekezés a Jagelló-korban” [Testaments of Aristocrats and Noblemen in the Jagiellonian Period], = *Soproni Szemle* 53, 1999, 331–342.; Jaritz, Gerhard, „A végrendeletek és a városi mindennapi élet: A Duna-völgy példája a késő középkorban” [Testaments and Everyday Life: The Example of the Danube-Valley in the Late Middle Ages], = *Soproni Szemle* 53, 1999, 325–330.; Solymosi, László, „Két középkor végi testamentum Szabolcs vármegyéből” [Two Late Medieval Testaments from Szabolcs County], In: Kovács, Ágnes (ed.), *Emlékkönyv Rácz István 70. születésnapjára*. [István Rácz Memorial Volume in Honour of His 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday] Debrecen, 1999. 203–225.; Lupescu Makó, Mária, „Item lego...” Gifts for the Soul in the late Medieval Transylvania”, = *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 7, 2001, 161–185.; Szende, Katalin, *Otthon a városban: társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in the town. Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Pozsony and Eperjes]. Budapest, 2004. (Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, 32.); Kulcsár, Beáta, „Magyar nemesi végrendeletek a középkorban” [Hungarian Noble Last Wills in the Middle Ages], = *Belvedere. Történelem és Társadalomtudományok* 22, 2008, 1–2: 58–78.; Majorossy, Judit – Szende Katalin (eds.): *Das Pressburger Protocolum testamentorum 1410 (1427) – 1529*. Budapest, 2010.; Lupescu Makó, Mária, „Why? To whom? What? Structural Patterns of Last Wills and Testaments in Medieval Transylvania”, = *Certamen* 2013, 1: 191–210.; Lupescu Makó, Mária, „Spoken and Written Words in Testaments: Orality and Literacy in Last Wills of Medieval Transylvanian Burghers”, In: Marco Mostert – Anna Adamska (eds.), *Using the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*. Turnhout, 2014. A work about princely testaments in Western-Europe: Kasten, Brigitte (ed.), *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter*. Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2008. (Norm und Struktur. Studien zum Sozialen Wandel im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, 29.) The summary of the testaments of the early Modern and Modern times: Horváth, József, „Egy végrendelet kutató tapasztalataiból” [The Observations of a Testament Researcher], In: Á. Varga, László (ed.), *Vera (nem csak) a városban. Tanulmányok a 65 éves Bácskai Vera tiszteletére*. [Vera (not only) in the City. Studies in Honor of Vera Bácskai on the Occasion of Her 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday.] Budapest, 1995. (Rendi társadalom – polgári társadalom. Suplementum) 433–444.; Hatos, Hajnalka, „A végrendeletek története a XVII–XIX. században” [The History of Testaments from the 17–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries], = *Optimi nostri*, 2009, 143–181. The collection of the testaments of the early Modern last wills: <http://archivum.piar.hu/arisztokrata/f-vegrendeletek-index.htm> (Download: November 25, 2014) The gender studies are discussed by the biographical data of some famous Hungarian women. Takáts, Sándor, *Magyar nagyasszonyok*. [Hungarian Dowagers.] Budapest, 1926.; R. Várkonyi Ágnes (ed.), *Nők a magyar történelemben*. [Women in the History of Hungary.] Budapest, 1995.; Estók, János – Szerencsés, Károly, *Híres nők a magyar történelemben*. [Famous Women in the History of Hungary.] Budapest, 2007.; Lácza, Magdolna (ed.), *Nők és férfiak ..., avagy a nemek története*. [Women and Men ... or the History of Genders.] Nyíregyháza, 2003.; Kőfalvi, Tamás, „Nők a középkori Baranyában” [Women in Medieval Baranya County], In: Fedeles Tamás – Horváth István – Kiss Gergely (eds.), *A pécsi egyházmegye vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Tímár György tiszteletére*. [In the Attraction of the Diocese of Pécs. Festschriften on the Honour of György Tímár.] Budapest, 2007. (METEM Könyvek, 63.) 191–223.

<sup>3</sup> Its historiography is summarized in Hungarian by Gábor Klaniczay in an essay devoted to Saint Elisabeth. Klaniczay, Gábor: „A nők szentsége a késő középkorban – Szent Erzsébet

Describing the women's rights in a few words,<sup>5</sup> it is necessary to mention the women's subordinated status being a cliché before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact the system appears quite modified already in the Middle Ages, however, the equality was realized mostly in the case of villeins, while in the case of noblemen a woman got only the *quarta puellaris* from the family's wealth – as Katalin Péter

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mint model” [The Sanctity of Women in the Late Middle Ages – Saint Elisabeth of Hungary as a Model], In. Medgyesy S., Norbert – Ötvös, István – Öze, Sándor (eds.), *Nyolcszáz esztendő a ferences rend. Tanulmányok a rend lelkeségéről, történeti hivatásáról és kulturális-művészeti szerepéről*. [The Franciscan Order is 800 Years Old. Essays on its Spirituality, Historical Vocation and Cultural-Artistic Role.] Budapest, 2013. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely. Rendtörténeti konferenciák 8.) II. 927–947.; Melville, Gert – Müller, Anne (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*. Berlin–Zürich, 2011. (Forschungstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte, 47.)

<sup>4</sup> Here I only cite the summarizing works of Katalin Péter, but her several other publication could be listed. – Péter, Katalin (ed.), *Gyermek a kora újkori Magyarországon. „adott Isten hozzánk való szeretetéből... egy kis fraucimmerecskét nekünk”*. [Child in the Early Modern Hungary. ‘Loving Us ... God Gave Us a ‘Frauzimmerchen’]. Budapest, 1996. (Társadalom- és Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok 19.); Péter, Katalin, „Milyenek voltak az erdélyi fejedele-masszonyok?”, In. Tamás, Edit (ed.), *Erdély és Patak fejedele-masszonya*. Sárospatak, 2000. 7–24. [A Sárospataki Rákóczi Múzeum Füzetek, 40.]; Péter, Katalin, „Nők önállósága, férfiak önállósága a társadalomban”, In. J. Újváry, Zsuzsanna (ed.), *Ezredforduló – századforduló – hetvenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére*. Piliscsaba, 2001. 383–394.; Fábri, Anna – Várkonyi, Gábor (eds.), *A nők világa. Művelődés- és társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok*. [The World of the Women. Culture and Social Historical Essays.] Budapest, 2007.; Péter, Katalin, *Házasság a régi Magyarországon*. [Marriage in the Old Hungary.] Budapest, 2008. (Múltidéző zsebkönyvtár); Péter, Katalin, *Magánélet a régi Magyarországon*. [Private Life in the Old Hungary.] Budapest, 2013. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Dissertationes)

<sup>5</sup> There rights can be known in details from the Tripartitum, and discussed by many Hungarian historians and medievalists. About maidens' and women's rights: I.48., 50., 88–93., 95–105., 109–111. In. Werbőczy, István, *Tripartitum. A dicsőséges Magyar Királyság szokásjogának hármaskönyve*. [Tripartitum. The Triple Book of the Glorious Hungarian Kingdom's Unwritten Law.] Translated by Csiky, Kálmán. Prefaced by Bónis, György. Budapest, 1990. Holub, József, „A leánynegyedről” [About quarta puellaris], = *Turul* 42, 1928. 106–115.; Holub, József, „Még egyszer és utoljára a leánynegyedről” [One More and Last about the quart puellaris], = *Turul* 45, 1931, 89–93.; Bónis, György, *Középkori jogunk elemei. Római jog. Kánonjog. Szokásjog*. [Elements of the Medieval Law. Roman Law. Canon Law.] Budapest, 1972. 93.; Fügedi, Erik, „A középkori magyar nemesség rokonsági rendszerének két kérdése” [Two Questions about the Relationship's System of the Medieval Hungarian Nobility], In. Hofer, Tamás (ed.), *Történeti antropológia. Az 1983. április 18–19-én megtartott tudományos ülésszak előadásai*. [Historical Anthropology. The Presentations of the Academic Conference in 18–19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1983.] Budapest, 1984. (Antropológiai írások, 8–10.) 217–226.; Mezey Barna (ed.), *Magyar jogtörténet*. [Hungarian Law History.] Budapest, 1997.; Eckhardt, Ferenc, *Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténet*. [The History of Hungarian Constitution and Law.] Ed.: Mezey, Barna. Budapest, 2000. 300–308.; Banyó, Péter, „Birtoköröklés és leánynegyed” [The Inheritance of Possession and Quarta Puellaris], = *Aetas* 15, 2000, 3: 76–92.

pointed out.<sup>6</sup> In addition to this fact women had a protected status. The reason of the belief that women were in lower social status can be that they did not occur in the sources, or if they did, mainly as a wife, widow, daughter or sister according to the contemporary patriarchal law system.<sup>7</sup> A family without an heir was one of the biggest fears of a noble clan, as Erik Fügedi wrote: ‘the dark trouble sitting behind the horse-rider’.<sup>8</sup> If a maiden did not marry to anyone, she had to live in her father’s or relatives’ house after coming of age. If she still remained a spinster, she also had a share of her family’s wealth. In the other case, if she became a wife, she received her part from the family’s possessions and goods, and also got her share from her husband. After the marriage the wife became the leader of the family life, but besides her husband travelling a lot, she also had to manage the holdings. If she became a widow, there were two ways to live onward: she remained a widow leading the family until her elder son became old enough or she could have another husband. Remaining a widow was an appreciated status.<sup>9</sup> Besides the family leadership women also had wealth-intermediate part regarding the marriages.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> It is presented by Katalin Szende in the case of citizens: Szende, Katalin, „A város másik fele: A nők szerepe a magánéletben, a munkában és a közösségi szférában” [The role of women in professional, private and public life], In. Klaniczay Gábor – Nagy Balázs (ed.), *A középkor szeretete. Ünnepi tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona 70. születésnapjára*. Budapest, 2000. 301–312.; Szende, Katalin, „The other half of the town: women in private, professional and public life in two towns of late medieval western Hungary”, = *East Central Europe* 20/23, 1993/96, 1: 171–190. Their economic separateness in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries is proved by Katalin Péter: Péter, Katalin, „Női családfők Sárospatakon a 16. és 17. században”, = *Századok*, 123, 1989, 5–6: 563–605.; Péter, Nők önállósága, 387–388. Christine de Pisan and Juan Luis Vives have drawn the model of a lady in the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in their famous works. According to Pisan the women had to be not only beautiful but also diligent in the housework while replacing her husband in the farm at the rural and jurisdictional agenda. At the same time she was expected to be prudent to economize the family’s money. Pisan, Christine, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor. The Treasury of the City of Ladies*. Translated by by Charity Cannon Willard. Ed. Madeleine Pelner Cosman. New York, 1989. Louis J. Vives, *De institutione feminae Christianae, 1523*. Translated in Hungarian in: *Vives J. Lajos válogatott neveléstudományi művei*. [The Selected Pedagogical Works of Louis J. Vives.]. Translated and published by Péter, János. Kézdivásárhely, 1935.

<sup>7</sup> Kőfalvi, Nők, 191.

<sup>8</sup> Fügedi, Erik, *A XV. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása*. [Social Mobility of the Hungarian Aristocracy during the 15<sup>th</sup> Century.] Budapest, 1970. (Történeti Statisztikai Kötetek) 79.

<sup>9</sup> About the rights of a maiden, women, wife, widow or mother, see Tripartitum. Their main special rights were: *ius capillare*, *allatura*, *quarta pullearis*, *res paraphernales*, *dos/dotalitium*. The value of a daughter can be read from many sources which are presented eg by Katalin Péter or Ildikó Horn regarding late Medieval and early Modern times. Péter, Katalin, „A gyermek első tíz esztendeje” [The First Ten Years of A Child], In. Péter, *Gyermek a kora újkori Magyarországon*, 15–50.; Horn Ildikó: „Nemesi árvák” [Noble Orphans], In. Péter, *Gyermek a kora újkori Magyarországon*, 51–90. For lives of women see *Bizony dolog édes szerelmes asszonyom, hogyha az Úr Istennek kedves akarátja lesz vala, kedvesebb lett volna nekünk a fiú, de*



Before focusing on the topic under discussion, it is worth summarizing the way of making a last will.<sup>11</sup> Making an independent testament was allowed since Saint Stephen.<sup>12</sup> Another regulation of making a last will can be read in the syn-

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*azért Ő Szent Felségének módot nem adhatunk... és sokszor vagyon, hogy az szegény leányok által is az Úr Isten olya atyafiat ad, hogy sokat szolgálhat atyafiatnak, azért mindenkéért dic-sértessék az Úr Istennek szent neve.*" (A letter of Elisabeth Czobor, cited in Bozzai, Zsuzsa, *Nők a 16–17. században Bölcsészdoktori értekezés.* [Women in the 16–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries. PhD Thesis.] Kézirat [Manuscript], Appendix, Péter, The First Ten Years, 1996, 26.) [‘It is a certain thing my dear Madam, that God has had a gentle will, we would have preferred a boy though, but we cannot give orders to the Holy Majesty... it is common that the Lord gives a relative by poor maidens who can serve his kinsmen, that is why be all glory to God.’] *„Verum, quia puel-lae plerumque animi levitate seducuntur, ideo in capillis existentes, si etiam legitimam et pre-fectam attigissent aetatem, nunquam fassiones perennales, vel etiam temporales, ..., facere possunt.”* (Werbőczy I. 91.) [Since maidens can be easily misled because of the weakness of their intellectual talent, unmarried maidens, even if they have reached their age of consent, ..., cannot make everlasting or temporary confessions.]; *„gyöngye az leányzónak állapotja, s ha nem tudom minemű igyenes erkölcsben és szent életben viseli is az leányzó magát; de az em-bereknek szólásoktól szabados nem lehet a mint példáink is vannak, hogy afféle leányzók, kik csak magán laktak, az embereknek méltántalanol is rágalmazásoktól meg nem menekedhettek.”* (A letter from Elisabeth Czobor to Sophia Révay, 1624, Deák, Farkas, *Magyar hölgyek levelei 1515–1799.* [Letters of Hungarian Ladies, 1515–1799. Budapest, 1979. Nr. 263. 198.] [... the maiden’s status is weak, and it does not matter how moral and holy she is; but she cannot be free from backbiting as we have examples of this: maidens who lived only on their own, could not get away from undeserved slander.”])

*„Az asszony, aki nem siratja meg férjének halálát, sőt, nyíltan örül annak, szégyentelenségről és kegyetlenségről tesz tanúbizonyságot, és méltó az emberek megvetésére”* (Louis J. Vives: *De institutione feminae Christianae*, 1523., cited by Horváth, Ágnes, „Főnemesi özvegyek a 16–17. századi Magyarországon. Elmélet és gyakorlat” [Aristocratic Widows in Hungary from the 16th–17th centuries. Theory and Practice], In. Fábri-Várkonyi, *The World of Women*, 247–267. 250.) [„The woman who does not mourn for her husband’s death, moreover, is glad about it, testimonies to be shameless and cruel and she is deserving of being despised.”]

*„Az özvegyasszonyokat tiszteld, azokat, akik valóban özvegyek.”* (Apor Péter: *Lusus mundi. az Apor és azzal vérrokon családok története és nemzedékrendje.* [Lusus mundi: the History and Genealogy of the Apor family and other families related.] Translated by Ferenc Szász. Kolozsvár, 1912. 25–26., cited by Horn, Nemesi árvák, 66.) [‘Respect the widows, the ones, who are really widow.’]

<sup>10</sup> Szende, Katalin, „Családszerkezet és örökösödési szokások a késő középkori Pozsonyban és Sopronban” [Family structure and inheritance customs in late medieval Bratislava and Sopron], = *Levéltári közlemények* 68, 1997, 77–98. 83.

<sup>11</sup> It is well summarized by Katalin Szende and Beáta Kulcsár: Szende, Katalin, „Testaments and Testimonies. Orality and Literacy in Composing Last Wills in the Late Medieval Hungary”, In. Gerhard Jaritz – Michael Richter (eds.), *Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context.* Krems–Budapest, 2001. (Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Sonderband 12., CEU Mediaevalia 3.) 49–66.; Kulcsár, Nemesi végrendeletek, 66–67.

<sup>12</sup> Szent István I. és II. törvénykönyve, In. Kristó, Gyula (ed.), *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai.* [The Written Sources of the Hungarian State Foundation’s Era.] Szeged, 1999. (Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 15.) 46–77.

odical decrees in Veszprém from 1515.<sup>13</sup> The topic was dealt with in secular laws only in 1715.<sup>14</sup> Although the conditions of making a testament were regulated for citizens, no regulations existed for noblemen. Furthermore, the right of discussing the problems apropos of last wills was bestowed mainly to ecclesiastical judiciary. This phenomenon can be ascribed to the religious spirituality of these ages, when the main aim for everybody was to secure their own and the family's spiritual salvation by making pious donations. Dying without a testament, so called *intestate* was considered dying without a confession. Regarding this, the ecclesiastical donations were an important part of a last will. Anyway, it is also can be read in the synodical decrees in 1515 that the wife could choose her burial place. If not, she was buried in the same place as her husband.<sup>15</sup> And it must be emphasized that by examining a testament, not only the customs but also the material culture and the everyday life can be established.<sup>16</sup>

The list of the 17 aristocratic women's testaments between 1444 and 1526 is demonstrated in a table after the text.<sup>17</sup> Some of the donator women are worthy a

<sup>13</sup> *A veszprémi egyház 1515. évi zsinati határozatai. Constitutiones synodales ecclesiae Vespriensis anni MDXV.* [The Synodal Decrees of the Veszprém Diocese from 1515.] Published by: Solymosi, László. Budapest, 1997. 21–22. And its interpretation: Solymosi, László, „Az 1515. évi veszprémi zsinat és a vallásos élet” [The Synodic of Veszprém and the Religious Life], In: Lengvári, István (ed.), *In memoriam Barta Gábor. Barta Gábor emlékére.* [In memoriam Gábor Barta. In Remembrance of Gábor Barta.] Veszprém, 1996. 113–123. or In: Fodor, Zsuzsa (ed.), *Tudomány és művészet Veszprémben a 13–15. században.* [Science and Art in Veszprém in the 13–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries.] Veszprém, 1996. (Veszprémi Múzeumi Konferenciák 6.) 55–77.

The chapter *De testamentis* defines the exact conditions of a valid last will, which are the following: A clergyman can only write a last will if he has made sure that the confessor is sound in mind and the testament is made by free will. Those who prevent the clergyman from being present at making of the last will or do not permit to write down the testament are under penalty of excommunication. The clergyman present at making the testament is obliged to ask the testator if he or she wants to leave anything to the church in Veszprém. The ideal number of witnesses is 7, but 3 including the clergyman are enough in case of necessity, while 2 witnesses are enough in case of pious donations. The executor should be one of the witnesses. The structure of the last will is the following: firstly the pious offertories have to be listed, then the heirs or heiresses from the family and after all the other successors. After the death the priest is obliged to inform the archdeacon who has compiled a list of the bequests in his district. The executors have to discharge the dead's last will within 6 months under penalty of excommunication. Solymosi, Veszprémi egyház 1515, 1997, 91–94.

<sup>14</sup> 1715: Art. XXVII, Mezey, Magyar jogtörténet, 1997, 95–96.

<sup>15</sup> The chapter *De sepulturis*, Solymosi, Veszprémi egyház 1515, 1997, 75.

<sup>16</sup> Horváth József – Dominkovits Péter, *17. századi Sopron vármegyei végrendeletek.* [Testaments from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century in Sopron County.] Sopron, 2001. 14.; Tárkány Szűcs Ernő, *Magyar jogi népszokások.* [Hungarian Legal Folk Customs.] Budapest, 2003<sup>2</sup>. 726

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix. The third column of the table shows those men's last wills whose family also has a known female testator, but there are much more male legators than the ones nominated here.

note: Barbara Kálnai, the wife of Alexander Kapi, as the member of the aristocracy by her former husband, Stephen Rozgonyi, the ispán of Győr, for instance. This matrimonial relationship was unknown to the researchers – to the best of the knowledge of the present essay writer –, and came to light right from her testament, because she mentions her son, Job Csuta of Baracska, the son of John the son of Stephen. Similarly to the previous instance the family name of Margaret the widow of Nicolaus Pető, the Master of Cup-Bearers, is a new discovery as well, it was not known until now. She was the former wife of Stephen Mórocz, so her family name is Kenderes of Malomvíz.<sup>18</sup> Although her last will does not refer to this fact, the persons and places mentioned in it confirm this hypothesis. The testament of her stepdaughter, the wife of Nicolaus Frangepán is also remained. Finally Dorothy Kanizsai<sup>19</sup>, the widow of two palatines has to be mentioned in particular, who was such an honoured woman to such an extent, that she got an own armorial charter independent from both of her husbands after

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<sup>18</sup> Last time examining her in my paper I did not managed to identify, Kelényi, Borbála, „Az öltöztetős Madonna. Két késő középkori forrás alapján, kitekintéssel a néprajzi párhuzamokra” [The Dressed Virgin Mary. Examining Two Late Medieval Sources Having an Outlook to the Ethnographical Parallel], In. Kádár, Zsófia – Mikó, Gábor – Pétefi, Bence – Vadas, András (eds.): *Micae Mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról. I.* [Micae Mediaevales. Essays on the Medieval Hungary and Europe. I.] Budapest, 2011. 45–61. 46.

About the extinction of the Mórocz of Meggyesalja family and the lawsuit about its possession, where this relationship is neighter known, Kubinyi, András, „Középbirtokos nemesség Mohács előestéjén” [The Middle-Class Nobility on the Eve Of Mohács], In. Szvircsek, Ferenc (ed.), *Magyarország társadalma a török kiűzésének idején.* [The Society of Hungary in the Time of the Expulsion of the Turks.] Salgótarján, 1984. (Discussiones Neogradiensis 1.) 5–24. 10., 19. (Note 47); Mészáros, Orsolya, „Szigliget várának története a középkorban” [The History of Castle Szigliget in the Middle Ages], = *Fons* 12, 2005, 3: 299–377. 337–344. 370–375.; Neumann, Tibor, „Verbőci István 1520. évi utazásai Szatmár megyében. A somlyói Bátoriak és a Móroc-örökség” [The Travels of István Verbőci in Szatmár County in 1520. The Bátoris of Somlyó and the Móroc Heritage], = *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle*, 41, 2006, 3: 290–304. 293–295.; Németh, Péter, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a 15. század elejéig.* [The Settlements of the Medieval Szatmár County till the Beginning of the 15th Century.]. Nyíregyháza, 2008. (Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 60.) Nr. 12, 61, 209, 267, 276, 498, 545.

<sup>19</sup> About Dorothy, her life, family and last will and the bibliography dealing with her: Kelényi, Borbála, „Dorottya Kanizsai's Last Will and Her Donations to the Church”, In. Toader Nicoară (ed.), *Anuarul Școlii Doctorale. „Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură.”* V. Cluj-Napoca, 2011. 59–76.; Kelényi, Borbála, „Kanizsai Dorottya végrendelete és társadalmi kapcsolatai” [Dorottya Kanizsai's Last Will and Her Social Relationships.] In. Mikó, Gábor – Péterfi, Bence – Vadas, András (eds.), *Tiszteletkőr. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára.* [Lap of Honor. Studies in Honor of István Draskóczy on the Occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday.] Budapest, 2012. 451–458.; Kelényi, Borbála: „Kanizsai Dorottya végrendelete és a bajcsi pálosoknak tett adományai” [The Last Will of Dorothy Kanizsai and Her Donation to the Pauliner of Bajcs], = *Fons* 19, 2012, 4: 495–529.

their death.<sup>20</sup> The fact that she was often nominated by her maiden name, not by her husbands' name also demonstrates the high respect for her.<sup>21</sup> She has the longest and consequently the most detailed one among all the 17 ones I examined. While the size of most of them amounts to 1 or 2 folios, the Palatine's last will goes up to 18 folios.

Analyzing the last wills the following facts can be stated. The language of all of them is Latin and also some Hungarian words occur while describing the articles.<sup>22</sup> According to the formal requirements most of them list the witnesses, executors and defenders, who are ecclesiastic people or their familiars and their wives belonging to their straight entourage and the testator's relatives.

All the women followed the well-known formula: sound in mind but infirm in body (*licet in corpora egra tamen in mente per omnia sana*), except the wife of John Bánfi, who did not write anything. While the widow of Sigismund Frangepán completed this declaring that there is nothing as certain as death, Barbara Kálnai cited Paul and Barbara Rozgonyi Job from the Bible. Both Helen Márkus and her husband, Stephen Várdai gave the reason of their act: they did not want to be overtaken by the death unexpectedly and unready at night. Presumably they had an exact reason for this act, but none of them mentioned that.

While women were the family's memories keeper, they participated actively in the commemorations of the dead, it is not surprising, that the majority of the

<sup>20</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatic Collection of Charters] 24773 [hereinafter: MNL DL]; Ghyczy, Pál: „Kanizsai Dorottya címeres levele 1519-ből” [Dorottya Kanizsai's Letter Patent of Nobility in 1519.] = *Turul* 46, 1932, 68–70.; Mikó, Árpád: „II. Lajos címereslevelei. Egy speciális heraldikai reprezentációs forma művészettörténeti kérdései a késői Jagelló-korban Magyarországon” [Louis II's Letter Patents. The Art Historical Questions of a Special Heraldic Representation Form in the Late Jagiellonian Ages in Hungary], In. Réthelyi, Orsolya – F. Romhányi, Beatrix – Spekner, Enikő – Végh, András (eds.), *Habsburg Mária, Mohács özvegye. A királyné udvara 1521–1531.* [Mary of Hungary, the Widow of Mohács. The Queen and her Court 1521–1531.] Budapest, 2005. 72–85. 78.; Érszegi, Géza – Mikó, Árpád: „II. Lajos király levele Kanizsai Dorottyának” [Louis II's Charter to Dorottya Kanizsai], In. Mikó, Árpád – Takács, Imre (eds.), *Pannonia regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541.* [Pannonia Regia. Art and Architecture in Western Hungary. 1000–1541.] Budapest, 1994. 476–477.

<sup>21</sup> For the nomination of aristocratic women: Péter, Katalin, „Az asszony neve. Arisztokrata névhasználat a 16–17. századi Magyarországon” [The Name of a Wife. Aristocratic Name Usage in Hungary during the 16–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries], = *Történelmi Szemle*, 52, 2010, 2: 151–187.

<sup>22</sup> About the Hungarian words occurring in the last wills: Kelényi, Borbála, „Magyar kifejezések a késő középkori női nemesi végrendeletekben” [Hungarian Phrases in Late Medieval Last Wills of Noble Women], In. Gál, Judit – Péterfi, Bence – Vadas, András – Kranzieritz, Károly (eds.): *Micae Mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról. III.* [Micae Mediaevales. Essays on the Medieval Hungary and Europe. III.] Budapest, 2013. 181–217. And the remained Hungarian sources are collected here: Hegedűs, Attila – Papp, Lajos (eds.), *Középkori leveleink 1541-ig.* [Medieval Letters up to 1541.] Budapest, 1991. (Régi magyar levéltár I.)

introduced women gave instructions about their burial, or offered their soul to God or Virgin Mary at least. The widow of Sigismund Frangepán and Dorothy Kanizsai had an own burial chapel built. The exact place of the tomb is defined only by Helen the widow of Sigismund Frangepán, Barbara Rozgonyi the widow of Michael Frangepán and Dorothy Kanizsai, scilicet the two widows wanted to be buried in Zengg (Senj, Croatia) and Dorothy in Bajcs. Most of the wives gave orders about the expenses of their burial or their funeral feast in some cases. Dorothy Kanizsai gave the most detailed description in her last will, and ordered to celebrate commemoration masses a month and subsequently a half a year after her burial and on its anniversary.<sup>23</sup>

There are 217 items containing pious donations altogether.<sup>24</sup> The monasteries are the beneficiaries in most cases, and among the orders the Paulines are mentioned the most times, then the Franciscans. It was Dorothy Kanizsai in particular, who donated mainly the Pauline monastery in Bajcs,<sup>25</sup> and that is why this order is overrepresented. The majority of these monasteries are located on the

<sup>23</sup> About the commemoration masses: Pásztor, Lajos, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában*. [The Hungarian's Religious Life in the Jagiellion Period.] Ed. Zombori, István. Budapest, 2000. (METEM) 79–81.; Fedeles, Mise, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> About the religiosity of the medieval noble sphere and pious donations: Wenczel, Gusztáv, *Kritikai tanulmányok a Frangepán család történetéhez*. [Critical Essays on the History of the Frangepán Family.] Budapest, 1883. (Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből XI. V.) 40–48.; Péter, Katalin, „Az olvasó nő eszménye”, In. *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére*. Szerk. Klaniczay Gábor, Nagy Balázs. Budapest, 1999. 323–332.; Lupescu Makó, Mária, „Item lego...”, 2001.; Szabó, Noémi Gyöngyvér, „Monasztikus férfikolostorok társadalmi kapcsolatai a 15–16. században a végrendeletek tükrében” [The Social Relationships of Monastic Monasteries from the 15–16<sup>th</sup> Centuries], = *Századok* 143, 2009, 2: 451–466.; Romhányi, Beatrix: „A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn...” *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*. [„Spiritual Life Cannot be Maintainable without Earthly Possessions...” Estate Management of the Paulines in the Middle Ages.] Budapest, 2010. 97–109.; Fedeles, Tamás, „Egy középkori főúri család vallásossága. Az Újlakiak példája” [The Religiosity of a Medieval Aristocratic Family. The Example of the Újlakis], = *Századok* 145, 2011, 2: 377–418.; Fedeles, Tamás, „E földi hazát örök és mennyei palotával elcserélni” Szempontok a késő középkori főúri vallásosság vizsgálatához” [‘Exchanging this earthly homeland for a divine palace’. Viewpoints to the investigation of aristocratic religiosity during the Late Mediaeval Period], In. Böhm, Gábor – Fedeles, Tamás (eds.), *Mesterek és tanítványok. Tanulmányok a bölcsészettudományok köréből*. [Masters and Scholars. Essays on the Liberal Arts.] Pécs, 2014.; Fedeles, Tamás, „Medicina contra peccata munda” Késő középkori misealapítványok” [‘Medicina contra peccata munda’ Baronial Mass-Endowments in the Late Medieval Period], = *Századok* 148, 2014, 2: 443–469.; Fedeles, Tamás – Prajda, Katalin, „Olyan vallásosan, szokásaiban és életmódjában mértéktartóan élt”. Adalékok Filippo Scolari és családja vallásosságához” [‘He lived so piously, exhibiting moderation in his manners and habits’ The Religiosity of Pippo Scolari and His Family], = *Történelmi Szemle* 56, 2014, 3: 357–382.

<sup>25</sup> Patton, Gábor, „A bajcsi pálos kolostor Baranya megyében” [The Pauline Monastery of Bajcs in the County of Baranya], = *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 10, 2009, 3. [http://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/pattongabor-bajcs.htm#\\_ftn17](http://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/pattongabor-bajcs.htm#_ftn17) Download: March 3, 2010.

residency of the donator's family or on a family's possession next to their inhabitation, except a few cases, but in these cases they were also next to the will-issuer's habitation.<sup>26</sup> Ursula Töttös's obligations to the monasteries of Esztergom could be explained with the archiepiscopal dignity of Esztergom, however her family had some possessions in the neighbourhood. The parish churches on the residency often occur also among the offertories, and Dorothy Kanizsa bestowed the Blessed Mary church in Almásfüzitő which was founded by her. Among the donated churches castle chapels also appear in the most important castles of the family. They had a role of great significance not only in the noble religiousness, but they also were a distinguished scene for representation.<sup>27</sup> There are two prestigious ecclesiastical centres mentioned, the Saint Ladislaus cathedral in Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania),<sup>28</sup> supposedly because of its dignity, and the Saint Michael Benedictine monastery in Bába. Both of them were considered as an important place of pilgrimage. The Holy Blood was honoured in Bába, which also had the royal family among its donators.<sup>29</sup> The other bestowed churches cannot be identified exactly, whether they were a monastery, parish church, chapel or something else, but all of them were located on the donators' residency. An of-

<sup>26</sup> It is worth noting that the Újlakis also donated mostly the Franciscan friaries and Pauline monasteries naturally in their residences, Fedeles, Újlakiak, 2011, 383. And Pippo Scolari and his family was in a tight relationship with the Franciscans, Fedeles, Filippo Scolari, 2014, 359–361. But on the contrary, according to Tamás Fedeles' researches it can be established, that almost the half of the aristocratic mass foundations were offered to the Pauline order, Fedeles, Mise, 2014. 460–461. Examining the donations to the monastic monasteries, Noémi Szabó deducted, that these orders were not popular, Szabó, *Monasztikus férfikolostorok*, 465. The connections between the donations' place and residence is also established by Tamás Fedeles, *Főúri vallásosság*, 61.

<sup>27</sup> Fedeles, Újlakiak, 391.

<sup>28</sup> About its significance as a place of veneration, Fedeles, Tamás, „Ad visitandumque sanctissimi regis Ladislai” Várad kegyhelye a középkorban” [Ad visitandumque sanctissimi regis Ladislai” Várad as the Place of Veneration in the Middle Ages], In: Bagi, Dániel – Fedeles, Tamás – Kiss, Gergely (eds.), „Köztes-Európa” vonzásában. *Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére*. [In the Attraction of „Europe's Liminality”. Festschriften on the Honour of Márta Font.] Pécs, 2012. 163–182. About the cathedral: Bunyitay Vince: *A nagyvárad latin szerzetartású székesegyház*. [The Catholic Cathedral in Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania).] Nagyvárad, 1880.

<sup>29</sup> About peregrination in the medieval Hungary: Csukovits, Enikő, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*. [Medieval Hungarian Pilgrims.] Budapest, 2003. (História könyvtár. Monográfiák 20.)

Especially see for Bába: Kónyi, Mária – Holub, József – Csalog, József – Dercsényi. Dezső, *A bábai apátság és Krisztus-vére ereklyéje*. [The Abbey of Bába and Its Christ's Blood Relic.] s.l. 1940. (Tolna vármegye múltjából 5.); Kápolnás, Mária (ed.), *Bába évszázadai. Emlékkönyv a bábai apátság alapításának 900éves évfordulójára*. [The Centuries of Bába. Album for the 900<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Foundation of the Monastery in Bába.] Bába, 1993.; Sümegi, József – V. Kápolnás, Mária, *A középkori bábai apátság és a Szent Vér templom története*. [The History of the Medieval Abbey of Bába and of the Holy Blood Church.] Bábai helytörténeti füzetek 1. Bába, 2005. (Múltunk cserepei.)

fertory to a foreign church in Neuburg-am-Inn<sup>30</sup> appear only in Dorothy Kanizsai's case, her relative, John Kanizsai the imperial count was buried there. Ecclesiastical persons are also among the pious grantees, generally the parsons of the inhabitancy or Franciscan friars and Clarissa nuns, furthermore the women's confessors. Helen Wolfurt and Barbara Rozgonyi donated the archbishop of Esztergom also. Moreover, almsgiving to the poor and orphans represents a part of the pious donations. Bequeathing to hospitals was also a part of these offertories, in one case the hospital of Bába is donated as well.<sup>31</sup> In most cases the aim of the offertories is to celebrate a read or chanted mass. The donator is commemorated during the mass which can be a burial commemorative service or a ceremony for the donator's own and their relatives' spiritual salvation or for the deceased husband eg in the case of Helen Wolfurt. Catherine Hédervári and Dorothy Kanizsai describe these masses in details, indicating the days of the recitation or the prayers which must be cited.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, other liturgies and religious ceremonies can be observed in the testaments. The latter two women make reference to the services of Good Friday. Dorothy also enriched the devotional articles of the Corpus Christi procession held in the Saint Ladislaus castle chapel of Valpó (Valpovo, Croatia).<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, it is necessary to mention the early presence of the tradition of dressed Virgin Mary statue in the offertories of Margaret Kenderes and Catherine Hédervári.<sup>34</sup> The renovation of a church can also

<sup>30</sup> Hofbauer, Josef, *Die Grafschaft Neuburg am Inn*. München, 1969. (Historischer Atlas von Bayern 20.) 60–63.

<sup>31</sup> Some other data for alm-giving: Pásztor, A magyarság vallásos élete 61–65. The important role of the hospital in alm-giving is beyond doubt, Fedeles, Újlakiak, 2011, 394.; Fedeles, Főúri vallásosság, 2014, 64–65.

<sup>32</sup> About the mass foundations: Pásztor, A magyarság vallásos élete, 74–93.; the custom of the days and masses: Pásztor, A magyarság vallásos élete, 84–91., Fedeles, Mise, 2014, 453–457. About the requiem masses and mortuary: Solymosi, Mortuárium, 1987.

<sup>33</sup> Györkös, Attila, *Valpó várának története a hódoltság előtti és alatti korszakban*. [The History of the Castle of Valpó Before and In the Time of the Turkish Rule.] <http://gyorkos.uw.hu/1543/valpo.htm> Download: May 5, 2010; Vilko, Čurik, *Háromszáz éve szabadult fel Valpó és környéke a török uralom alól*. [Valpó and its Neighbourhood Has Been Deliberated from the Turkish Occupation Since 300 Years.] Translated to Hungarian: Szatanek, József. Valpó, 1987. (A múlt visszhangjai, IV)

About the processions: Fedeles, Tamás, „Vallásos áhítat, közösségtudat, reprezentáció. A késő középkori körmenetek főbb jellemzői” [Religious Devotion, Community Identity, Representation. The Main features of Late-Medieval Processions], = *Aetas* 22, 2007, 3: 59–82., and especially the Corpus Christi processions: ibidem 63–65.; Sári, Zsolt, „Az Eucharisztia ünnepének – Úrnapi – kialakulása és magyarországi története” [The Formation of the Eucharistia-Feast (Corpus Christi) and Its Hungarian History], In: Tolnay, Gábor (ed.), *Ember és környezete*. [Man and Its Environment.] Szolnok, 2002. (A Jász-Nagykunszolgai Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, 58.) 111–120.

<sup>34</sup> The presentation of both these two sources and the further bibliography for this interesting custom: Verebélyi, Kincső, „A kegyzobrok öltöztetése” [Customizing the Mercy Statues], In: Farbak, Péter – Serfőző, Szabolcs (eds.), *Mariaszell és Magyarország. Egy zarándokhely em-*

be an aim among the pious donations: Margaret Kenderes supported the Franciscan friary in Keszthely<sup>35</sup>, while Barbara Rozgonyi favoured the Pauline monastery in Zengg (Senj, Croatia).<sup>36</sup>

The sacral<sup>37</sup> and secular<sup>38</sup> tableware have equal proportions among the articles donated to the church, while the clothes<sup>39</sup> and jewellery<sup>40</sup> for ecclesiastical use come to twice as much.<sup>41</sup> Several times the profane articles are intended to be transformed into an object of piety or to be sold so that a devotional article can be bought at their price. The object of the donations can be money too, the largest sum is 1000 gold forints and the smallest is 1 Ft. Several types of possessions and their belongings are also offered as a mass-foundation; the most precious is a market-town among them (Lippa/Lipova, Romania). Moreover, lots of domestic animals, fruit and wine are also donated.

The secular donations add up to 495 records in all. It has to be mentioned, that 111 of them appear in the inventory of Helen Márkus's articles. The beneficiaries are often women's relatives, mostly their own or adopted daughters, sons

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*lékezete. Kiállítás a Bp.i Történeti Múzeum Kiscelli Múzeumában. 2004. május 28. – szeptember 12. [Mariazell and Hungary. The Remembrance of a Pilgrimage Site. Exhibition in the Budapest History Museum's Museum of Kiscell. 28<sup>th</sup> May – 12<sup>th</sup> September 2004] Budapest, 2004. 426–431.; Kelényi, Borbála, „Az öltöztetős Madonna. Két késő középkori forrás alapján, kitekintéssel a néprajzi párhuzamokra” [The Dressed Virgin Mary. Examining Two Late Medieval Sources Having an Outlook to the Ethnographical Parallel], In: Kádár, Zsófia – Mikó, Gábor – Pétefi, Bence – Vadas, András (eds.), *Micae Mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról. I.* [Micae Mediaevales. Essays on the Medieval Hungary and Europe. I.] Budapest, 2011. 45–61.*

<sup>35</sup> Karácsonyi János: *Szent Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig.* [The History of the Franciscan Order in Hungary up to 1711.]. I. Budapest, 1922. 186–188.; Keszthely, In: Romhányi Beatrix (főszerk.): *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon.* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary.] Budapest, 2008. CD ROM.

<sup>36</sup> About the the Pauline monastery of Zengg: Mályusz, Elemér, „A szlavóniai és horvátországi pálos középkori kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban: 1–11.” [The Charters of Medieval Pauline Monasteries from Slavonia and Croatia in the National Archives: 1–11.]: = *Levéltári Közlemények* 3, 1925, 1–4: 100–191.; 5, 1927, 1–4: 136–209.; 6, 1928, 1–4: 87–203.; 7, 1929, 3–4: 278–311.; 8, 1930, 1–2: 65–111.; 9, 1931, 3–4: 284–315.; 10, 1932, 1–2: 92–123.; 10, 1932, 3–4: 256–286.; 11, 1933, 1–2: 58–92.; 12, 1934, 1–4: 111–154.; 13, 1935, 1–4: 233–265.

<sup>37</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: bowl, cup, glass, spoon, bottle, jug, goblet.

<sup>38</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: chalice, amphora, aspersorium, aspergillum, thurible.

<sup>39</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence, for secular use: *suba* (fur coat), tunic, *feris* (gown), for sacral use: chasuble, humeral, alb, dalmatic, cappa.

<sup>40</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence, for secular use: headdress (headdress: *lengeteg*, *fagyol* (veil), *párta* (crown), *fültű* (hairpin), ring, belt, *násfa* (pendent), button, for sacral use: beads, cross, crucifix.

<sup>41</sup> Other donated articles are tapestry, due to the frequency of their incidence, for sacral use: carpet, bed-cover, pillow and for secular use: carpet, altar-cover, pillow, duvet. Some other ecclesiastical equipment occur such as candelabrum, bell and an altar of Virgin Mary in one case.



and husbands and in a few cases their brothers, mother or grandsons.<sup>42</sup> Dorothy Kanizsai was on bad terms with her stepsons, the descendents of her second husband's sons from his former wife. That is why they are only mentioned with reference to their debts, while on the contrary, Dorothy's adopted daughters, Elisabeth and Euphemia Stubenberg received a lot. Barbara Kálnai emphasized only one of her sons, the descendent of her first marriage, Job Csuta of Baracska, the other son John is mentioned only in connection with his own son. The other beneficiaries came from the women's larger family, her or her husband's household, including the surrounding familiars and their wives, pages, students and other servants. Among them the proportion of the maidens, women's is higher than the boys' and men's. Examining these people the circles of an aristocratic woman and her household can explicitly stand out.<sup>43</sup>

The majority of the donated articles are jewellery<sup>44</sup> and among them the several types of headdresses<sup>45</sup> are the most numerous. The objects for sacral use, but donated to secular persons also belong to this group; crosses and beads worn often as jewellery for instance. Among the pieces of furniture, tablecloths and kerchiefs can be numerated in most cases, but it has to be emphasized, that this is significantly enlarged by the list of the bequest of Helen Márkus. Apart from this, the pieces of the bed-linen<sup>46</sup> are in the greatest quantity. It is interesting, that the items of tableware, such as cutlery,<sup>47</sup> are mentioned more times than the

<sup>42</sup> About the inheritance: Szende, Katalin, „Families in Testaments. Some aspects of demography and inheritance customs in a Late Medieval Hungarian Town”, = *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 35, 1995, 107–124.; Szende, Katalin, „From mother to daughter, from father to son? Intergenerational patterns of bequeathing movables in late medieval Bratislava”, In: *Annual of medieval studies at Central European University Budapest* 7, 2001, 209–232.; Szende, Katalin, „Gyermekek, testvérek, házastársak. Családi viszonyok és örökösödési szokások Eperjesen a középkori végrendeletek tükrében” [Children, Brothers, Sisters, Spouses. Family Relations and Inheritance Customs in Eperjes (Prešov) as Reflected in Medieval Testaments], = *Történelmi szemle* 46, 2004, 1–2: 113–139.; Szende, Katalin, „From Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son? Inheritance of Movables in Late Medieval Pressburg”, In: Finn Einar Eilassen – Katalin Szende (eds.), *Generations in Towns. Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies*. Newcastle, 2009. 44–75.

<sup>43</sup> Solymosi, 1974, 28., Kulcsár, Nemesi végrendeletek, 2008, 65. It is worthy a note, that in the case of citizens, there are not too much gift for a servant, Szende, Gyermekek, 2004, 128.

<sup>44</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: belt, *nyakbavető* (necklace), torques, *násfa* (pendant), *leppel* (brooch), ring.

<sup>45</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: *párta* (crown), veil (*fagyol*), bonnet, *fédel*, *csap*, *hajtakaró* (head-covers), *hajkesen* (buckle), *fültű* (hairpin).

<sup>46</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: bed-sheet, *fejalj* (pillow), duvet, *derékalj*, *matrac* (mattress), quilt.

<sup>47</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: bowl, plate, pot, jug, cup, *sellyeg* (goblet), washbasin with jug and spoon, knife, knife sheath.

clothes, which involve several pieces of the upper and underwear.<sup>48</sup> It is not surprising that *suba* (fur coat) and tunics are in the largest number among them. Arms are mentioned only once: Barbara Kálnai demised the weapons remained with her from her first husband to his son. Obviously not only the great number of the different articles, but their materials also show the great value of the things enumerated in the last will. The object of the donations can also be money, the largest amount is 200 ducats, and the smallest is 3 copper halfpennies. The largesse can be several types of possessions and the right to them; the most precious is a castle among them. Moreover, lots of domestic animals, fruit and wine are also donated. In addition to this, it must be mentioned that Dorothy Kanizsai donated to her adopted daughters their trousseau.

Only few debts were left by these women. The amounts being indebted to them are bequeathed to the debtor, except such a large sum as 5000 forints, which was owed by Peter and Frank Perényi to their stepmother.

Turning to the comparison of women's and men's last wills it can be established, that all these men made their order written in Latin, but it is necessary to underline, that some other last wills of noblemen written in Hungarian are known from before 1526. The circle of the witnesses, executors and defenders is the same as in the case of women, except that no women appear among them. The reason of making a testament is also the same. It is worthy a note that some other reasons – not presented completely here – are also known from other testaments. Stephen Rozgonyi completed the reason with his desire, that he did not want to die as *intestate*. Only he and Emery Perényi disposed of the funeral by will. The latter asked the king to accompany his body from Buda up to the Danube and the members of the Upper House to go with his corpse up to the borders of Pest. Martin Frangepán made a last will four times, donating different churches. Besides this, it is remarkable, that he gave a lot of charitable gifts.<sup>49</sup>

These men, except the latter, donated generously for pious uses. Mostly Franciscan friaries are given offertories, but there are also Pauline and Augustine monasteries among the donated churches, naturally at the families' residency. Furthermore, not only the monasteries and parish churches located in their inhabitancy, but also their staff and once a prior are bequeathed. The object of the donations is mostly a mass-foundation, but can also be money or domestic animals. *Suba* (fur coat) is the only cloth that is mentioned.

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<sup>48</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: *suba* (fur coat), tunic, *szoknya* (tunic/skirt), *csaholy* (shirt), *joppa* (mantle), *kabanica* (gown), *kecele* (aproat), *szőrirha* (fur coat).

<sup>49</sup> See his donations: Thallóczy, Lajos – Barabás Samu, *A Frangepán család oklevéltára. [The Charters of the Frangepán Family.]* I–II. Budapest, 1910–1913. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria 35., 38.) II. Nr99., 100., 169., 200. [hereinafter: FO]

The secular donations given by men are twice as much as the pious ones. The beneficiary of them is a relative, mostly the wife and the daughter, in few cases the sister or even the father. This surprising fact may be explained with the rules arranging the heritance of the family possessions. Furthermore, the men's familiars and servants are mentioned, naturally all of them are men. It is not unexpected that the object of these donations is principally possession or its right. Mostly tableware<sup>50</sup> is bequeathed among the donated articles, and also clothes<sup>51</sup>. It is interesting, that the majority of these clothes (e.g. trousers, shirts and spurs) belongs to the male clothing and they are not unisex as *suba* and tunic are in the case of women.<sup>52</sup> Rings represent the only jewellery appearing. Money is bequeathed only 3 times, between 100 and 1 forints.

Contrasting women and men, it can be said, that proportionally the former gave a slightly more pious donations, while the latter mainly donated possessions (due to their legal status) and money in the first place. It is interesting that the clothes left by men are often gender specified, while women often ordered pieces of dresses to be sold. However, this comparison cannot be extensive due to the lower number of the men's last wills represented here.

Finally, three last wills of the members of the Semsei family<sup>53</sup> represent the practice of the testamentary disposition in the case of the middle class nobility. John Semsei, his wife and their daughter made their testament within a year. The fact that the daughter, Sophia was the second wife of Alexander Kapi after the death of the often mentioned Barbara Kálnai explains the comparison. John and his wife, Barbara Vajdai made mostly pious donations to Franciscan and Pauline friaries in their neighbourhood or parish churches in their own possessions. The object of these offertories was always money except for one possession in the case of John and his wife who left also clothes two times. The amounts given by

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<sup>50</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: goblet, wasbasin with jug

<sup>51</sup> Due to the frequency of their incidence: *suba* (fur coat), *csaholy* (shirt), trousers, *joppa* (mantel), spur

<sup>52</sup> Here I have to mention that according to András Kubinyi's conclusions, *suba* occurs frequency in the testaments of women in the case of noblemen, while in the case of citizens it appears mostly in men's last wills, Kubinyi, Főúri és nemesi végrendeletek, 1999, 14–15.

<sup>53</sup> The last will of John: MNL DL 85147 (1495), of his wife, Barbara: MNL DL 85153 (1496), and their daughter, Sophia: MNL DL 71765 (1496).

The history of the Semseis' is published by István Kádas in his thesis: Kádas, István, „Egy abaúji atyafiság Mátyás király udvarában. Adalékok a Semsei család Hunyadi-kori történetéhez” [A Kinship from Abaúj County in the Court of Matthias. Data to the History of the Semsei Family in the Hunyadi Period], In: Péterfi – Vadas – Mikó – Jakab, Micae Medieuales II., 2012. 141–157.; Kádas, István, „Középkori család- és birtoktörténet: a Semseiek” [Medieval Genealogy and Possession-history: the Semseis], = *Fons* 20, 2013, 4: 455–499.; Kádas, István, *A Semsei család késő középkori története*. (Kézirat) [The Late Medieval History of the Semsei Family. (Manuscript)] Budapest, 2014.

John were between 200 and 3 forints, and between 56 and 1 forint donated by Barbara. It is interesting, that both of them mentioned only their daughters from the family, however they also had sons. Besides this, John donated his familiars and Barbara her maid. In contrast to them, their daughter, Sophia left her inherited possession to her obviously young son, however, the main beneficiary of her testament was her husband. Her other largess are offered to her sister and mother and her servants. Otherwise she donated clothes and jewellery which were intended to be transformed in case of pious offertories.

The three exemplars above illustrate a briefly outlined contrast of the two different customs practiced by the wealthy aristocracy on the one hand and the moderated middle-class nobility on the other hand while making a last will. Generally it can be said that both the number and value of the donations fall far short of that of the aristocracy's. Regarding the pious offertories, it is obvious, that the members of the aristocracy could afford to demise devotional articles, while the representatives of the less wealthy families could leave only secular articles to be transformed or sold.

Summarizing my researches, it can be declared that it is not a special thing that aristocratic women made testament. First, it happened due to the high level of literacy in their immediate environment. It is enough to mention their extensive correspondence within the family.<sup>54</sup> Second, they were especially interested in making a last will because of their extreme wealth and wide-spread relationships. Third, they made a testament, as presumably anybody else, since it symbolized their readiness for death. Last it must be emphasized that the examination of their life gives a wide range of information about the whole society since their beneficiaries represent different classes.

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<sup>54</sup> See eg the well-known letters of the neice of Dorothy Kanizsai, Ursula Kanizsai and her husband, Thomas Nádasdy which are published in: „Szerelmes Orsikám...” A Nádasdyak és Szegedi Körös Gáspár levelezése. [„My Beloved Orsi...” The Correspondence of the Nádasdy Family and Gáspár Szegedi Körös.] Ed.: Vida, Tivadar. Budapest, 1988. (Magyar Levelestár.) and other examples: Deák, Farkas, *Magyar hölgyek levelei*.

## APPENDIX

*Table: Hungarian Aristocratic Women's Last Wills*<sup>55</sup>

Year of the donation	Women	Men (only from those families which have a female testator!)
1415		Ulrich Wolfurt of Vereskő (Count of Celje and Zagorje, Castellan of Óvár) <sup>56</sup>
1445	Helen Wolfurt of Vereskő (widow) <sup>57</sup> Father: Ulrich Wolfurt of Vereskő (Count of Celje and Zagorje, Castellan of Óvár) Mother: Catherine <b>Hédervári</b> Husband: Stephen <b>Rozgonyi</b> (Ispán of Pozsony)	
1446		<u>John Rozgonvi</u> (Ispán of Győr) <sup>58</sup>
1447		Laurence <b>Hédervári</b> (Palatine) <sup>59</sup>
1453		John <b>Frangepán</b> (Count of Veglia, Modrus and Zengg) <sup>60</sup>
1470	<u>Dorothy Bánfi of Alsólendva</u> (1. widow, 2. wife) <sup>61</sup> Father: Stephen <b>Bánfi of Alsólendva</b> (Queen's Knight) Mother: Clara N. Husband: 1. John Blagai 2. Martin <u><b>Frangepán</b></u> (Count of Veglia, Modrus and Zengg)	

<sup>55</sup> **Bold type: the aristocratic family***Italic type:* on the line of aristocracy and middle class nobility

Underlined with points: foreign family

Underlined: the couples whose both members did a last will

<sup>56</sup> Radvánszky, Béla – Závodszy, Levente, *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára. I–II.* [The Charters of the Héderváry Family. I–II.]. Budapest, 1909–1922. I. Nr. 125. [hereinafter: HO]<sup>57</sup> MNL DL 13881<sup>58</sup> MNL DL 13948<sup>59</sup> HO I. Nr. 162. (1439), 168 (1442), 191–193 (1447)<sup>60</sup> Ljubič, Simeon: *Commissiones et relationes venetae. I–III.* Zagrabiae, 1876–1880. (Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium VI., VIII., XI.) I. 98.<sup>61</sup> MNL Diplomatai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic Photo Collection] 282443 [hereinafter: DF]

Year of the donation	Women	Men (only from those families which have a female testator!)
1472		John <i>Pető of Gerse</i> (Lord Steward) <sup>62</sup> <u>Rajnaldus Rozgonyi</u> (Lord Chief Treasurer) <sup>63</sup>
1473	Anne <b>Garai</b> (wife) <sup>64</sup> Father: Ladislas <b>Garai</b> (Palatine) Mother: Alexandra ( <u>Duchess of Teschen</u> ) Husband: Emery <b>Hédervári</b> (Lord Steward)	
1474	<u>Elisabeth of Mainberg</u> (widow) <sup>65</sup> Father: Mother: Husband: <u>Rajnaldus Rozgonyi</u> (Lord Chief Treasurer)	<u>Martin Frangepán</u> (Count of Veglia, Modrus and Zengg) <sup>66</sup>
1489	Helen N. (widow) <sup>67</sup> Father: Mother: Husband: Sigismund <b>Frangepán</b> (Count of Veglia, Modrus and Zengg)	
1496	Sophia <b>Ország of Gút</b> <sup>68</sup> Father: Michael <b>Ország of Gút</b> (Palatine) Mother: Anne Jakcs of Kusaly	

<sup>62</sup> MNL DL 93454

<sup>63</sup> MNL DL 17326

<sup>64</sup> HO I. Nr. 292.

<sup>65</sup> MNL DL 89012

<sup>66</sup> DL 17751, Kukuljevič, Ivan, *Acta Croatica. Listine Hravatska*. Zagrebu, 1883. (Monumenta Historica Slavorum Meridionalium. Povjestni Spomenici Južnih Slavenah VI.) Nr. 83.; Ferrendžin, Eusebius, *Acta Bosnae Potissimum Ecclesiastica Cum Insertis Editorum Documentorum Regestis: Ab Anno 925 Usque Ad Annum 1752*. Zagrabiae, 1892. (Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium 23.) Nr. 1154, 1156, regesta: FO II. Nr. 99, 119., 121., The execution of his wills undestroyed: MNL DL 34687., Mályusz, Pálos kolostorok, 1925, Nr. 11.

<sup>67</sup> Thallóczy, Lajos – Barabás, Lajos: *A Blagay-család oklevéltára*. [The Charters of the Blagay Family.] Budapest, 1897. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria 28). Nr. 218., FO. II. Nr. 182.

<sup>68</sup> MNL DL 88803. Presented by Kubinyi András: „Egy későközépkori főrangú hölgy végrendelezésének tanulságai” [The Lessons of an Aristocratic Lady’s Testament from the Late Middle Ages], = *Történelmi Szemle* 39, 1997, 3–4: 401–410.

Year of the donation	Women	Men (only from those families which have a female testator!)
1491	Barbara Kálnai (1. widow, 2. wife) <sup>69</sup> Father: Ladislás Kálnai Mother: Helen Forgács (?) Husband: 1. <b>John Rozgonvi</b> (Ispán of Győr) 2. Alexander Kapi	
1493	Ursula <b>Töttös of Bátmonostor</b> (widow) <sup>70</sup> Father: Ladislás <b>Töttös of Bátmonostor</b> (Lord Chief Treasurer, Master of the Cup-Bearers) Mother: Anne Csáki Husband: 0. <i>Simon Várdai</i> (engaged only) 1. John <i>Várdai</i>	
1497		John <b>Hédervári</b> <sup>71</sup>
1502		Ladislás <b>Geréb of Vingárti</b> (Bishop of Transylvania) <sup>72</sup>
1503	Margaret Kenderes of Malomvíz (1. widow, 2. widow) <sup>73</sup> Father: John Kenderes of Malomvíz Mother: Husband: 1. Stephen <b>Mórocz of Meggyesalja</b> 2. Nicolaus <i>Pető of Gerse</i> (Master of the Cup-Bearers)	
1505	Catherine N. (widow) <sup>74</sup> Father: Mother: Husband: Aladar <i>Várdai</i> (Lord Chamberlain)	

<sup>69</sup> MNL DL 64482

<sup>70</sup> MNL DL 83023, Kelényi, Borbála: „Három Várdai-feleség végrendelete a késő középkorban” [The Last Wills of Three Várdai-Wife from the Late Middle Ages.], In: Péterfi, Bence – Vadas, András – Mikó, Gábor – Jakab, Péter (eds.), *Micae Mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról. II.* [Micae Mediaevales. Essays on the Medieval Hungary and Europe.] Budapest, 2012. 159–175.

<sup>71</sup> MNL DL 102279

<sup>72</sup> MNL DL 30959

<sup>73</sup> MNL DL 93704, DL 93710

<sup>74</sup> MNL DL 82224, Kelényi, Három Várdai-feleség, 2013.

Year of the donation	Women	Men (only from those families which have a female testator!)
1506	<u>Helen Márkus of Terjén/Csúz</u> (wife) <sup>75</sup> Father: Ladislas Márkus of Terjén/Csúz (Vice-warden of Croatia and Dalmatia) Mother: Helen Nagyvölgyi Husband: <u>Stephen Várdai</u>	<u>Stephen Várdai</u> <sup>76</sup>
1507	Elisabeth <b>Druget of Homonna</b> (wife) <sup>77</sup> Father: Simon <b>Druget of Homonna</b> (?) (Master of the Cup-Bearers) Mother: Sophia <b>Bebek of Pelsőc</b> (?) Husband: Sigismund <b>Losonci</b> (Baron)	
1513	Elisabeth <i>Pető of Gerse</i> (1. widow, 2. wife) <sup>78</sup> Father: Nicolaus <i>Pető of Gerse</i> (Master of the Cup-Bearers) Mother: Dorothy Papdi Husband: 1. Stephen Csupor of Monoszló 2. Nicolaus <b>Frangepán</b> (Count of Veglia, Modrus and Zengg)	
1514		John <b>Bánfi of Losonc</b> <sup>79</sup>
1518		<u>Emery Perényi of Terebes</u> (Palatine) <sup>80</sup>
1519	<u>Catherine Hédervári</u> (wife) <sup>81</sup> Father: Nicolaus <b>Hédervári</b> (Lord Chief Treasurer) Mother: Ursula N. Husband: <u>Stephen Rozgonyi</u>	

<sup>75</sup> MNL DL 82238, Kelényi, Három Várdai-feleség, 2013.

<sup>76</sup> MNL DL 82239

<sup>77</sup> Iványi, Béla, A Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy-család története, Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy-család történetéhez. [Data to the History of the Bánffy Family of Losonc. Charters on the History of the Bánffy Family of Losonc.] Bp. 1928. II. Nr. 335.

<sup>78</sup> MNL DL 38569, FO II. Nr. 287.

<sup>79</sup> MNL DF 277741

<sup>80</sup> MNL DF 263702, *Istvánffy Miklós magyarok dolgairól írt históriája*. [The Story Written About the Hungarian Acts by Miklós Istvánffy.] Translated by Tállyai, Pál. Budapest, 2003. 789.

<sup>81</sup> HO I. Nr. 390–391.



Year of the donation	Women	Men (only from those families which have a female testator!)
1520		Gregory <b>Frangepán</b> (Archbishop of Kalocsa) <sup>82</sup>
1521	Margaret <b>Henning of Szomszédvár</b> (wife) <sup>83</sup> Father: John <b>Henning of Szomszédvár</b> Mother: Sophia Horváth of Litva Husband: John <b>Bánfi of Bolondóc</b> (Baron)	
1523		<u>Stephen <b>Rozgonyi</b></u> <sup>84</sup>
1524	Barbara <b>Rozgonyi</b> (widow) <sup>85</sup> Father: John <b>Rozgonyi</b> (Voivode of Transylvania) Mother: Dorothy <b>Bánfi of Alsólendva</b> Husband: Michael <b>Frangepán</b> (Count of Veglia, Modrus and Zengg)	Frank <b>Várdai</b> (Bishop of Transylvania) <sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> MNL DL 106078. Érdűhelyi, Menyhért, *A kalocsai érsekség a renaissance-korban*. [The Archdiocese of Kalocsa in the Renaissance.] Zenta, 1899. 117. (Footnote Nr. 5); Katona, István, *A kalocsai érseki egyház története. I.* [The History of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa in the Renaissance I.] Translated by Takács, József. Prefaced by Thoroczkay, Gábor. Kalocsa, 2001. 284–285.

<sup>83</sup> MNL DF 256077

<sup>84</sup> MNL DL 89173

<sup>85</sup> MNL DL 89187

<sup>86</sup> Bunyitai Vince: *A gyulafehérvári székeskáptalan későbbi részei s egy magyar humanista*. [The Later Parts of the Cathedral Chapter of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, RO) and a Hungarian Humanist.]. Budapest, 1893, Appendix 27–32.; „Vekov, Károly, Egy erdélyi püspök és a gyulafehérvári székesegyház kincstára” [A Transylvanian Bishop and the Treasury of the Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania)], In. Kovács András – Sipos Gábor – Tonk Sándor (eds.): *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. [Festschrift on the Honour of the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Birth of Zsigmond Jakó.] Kolozsvár, 1996. 525–548.; C. Tóth, Norbert, „Várdai Ferenc erdélyi püspök végrendeletének utóélete” [The Afterlife of the Testament of Ferenc Várdai, the Transylvanian Bishop], In. Garda, Dezső (ed.), *A mezővárostól a rendezett tanácsú várossig*. [From a Market Town to a City with Organized Council.] Csíkszereda, 2011. 73–115.

Year of the donation	Women	Men (only from those families which have a female testator!)
1525	Dorothy <b>Kanizsai</b> (1. widow, 2. widow) <sup>87</sup> Father: Nicolaus <b>Kanizsai</b> (Ispán of Sopron) Mother: Veronique N./Christine N. Husband: 1. Peter <b>Geréb of Vingárt</b> (Palatine) 2. <u>Emery <b>Perényi of Terebes</b></u> (Pala- tine)	

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<sup>87</sup> MNL DF 286364, DL 24152, DL 24153, Kelényi, Dorottya Kanizsai's Last Will, 2011. 59–76.; Kelényi, Kanizsai Dorottya végrendelete, 2012. 451–458.; Kelényi, Borbála: Kanizsai Dorottya és a bajcsi pálosok 2012, 495–529.

## SOCIAL HIERARCHY AND HERALDIC CULTURE IN TRANSYLVANIA IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES\*

The coat of arms, as a particular symbol of a person, a family or a community was increasingly accepted even from its appearance in the Middle Ages. At that time it was used first of all on seals, but there were several other heraldic supports too. The present paper focuses on the heraldic display in architectural context, at what extent it was able to reflect social differences in medieval society.

The first spectacular user of heraldic devices in Transylvania is a family originated from abroad, but holding offices in this region: the Szécsi family. András Szécsi and his nephew, Domokos Szécsi were bishops of Transylvania with centre in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) for about half a century (between 1320–1368), and they played a determining role in the history of the bishopric.<sup>1</sup> In the second decade of the fourteenth century the Chapter was looking for an influential member of the aristocracy who was able to protect the interests of the bishopric, in a period of great disturbances in the Hungarian history. András Szécsi seemed to be the proper person, but later, after his election, he proved to be a violent man, who was much more a knight than a clerk. His nephew, Domokos has played a more constructive role in the history of the bishopric than his uncle. It is very likely that he was the person who commissioned a gisant in the memory of his uncle. Another fragment, closely related to the first one, was probably part of the funerary monument of Domokos himself.<sup>2</sup> Both of them represents the earliest examples of gisant type funerary monuments of Hungary, and clearly demonstrates the fortunate destiny of the cathedral of Alba Iulia, which, opposite to other medieval cathedrals of Hungary, was preserved. The funerary monument of András Szécsi displays the coat of arms of the family too: double headed eagle displayed, wings inverted. It was not displayed on an ostentatious manner but

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<sup>1</sup> Temesváry, János, *Erdély középkori püspökei*. Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1922. 141–175.

<sup>2</sup> Varga Livia – Lövei, Pál, “Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary”, = *Acta Historiae Artium* 25, 1990–1992, 3–4: 120 [hereinafter Varga – Lövei, Funerary Art]; Sarkadi, Márton, „*s folytatva magát a régi művet.*” *Tanulmányok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház és püspöki palota történetéből*. Budapest, 2010. 184–185 [hereinafter Sarkadi, Gyulafehérvár].

was placed in the lower-right corner of the tomb, forming a well-structured ensemble with the recumbent effigy of the bishop and the elegant inscription. One of the Szécsis continued the construction of the cathedral. At that time the church was already finished, only the western towers being under construction. However, the trace of their intervention can be observed not on the towers, but on the two western vaults of the central nave. The arms of the Szécsi family, placed on the key stone of the vault hints at the reconstruction of the vault in this part of the cathedral.<sup>3</sup> Until the mid fourteen century only royal arms are known in the context of church architecture. Based on the preserved examples, the cathedral of Alba Iulia seems to be the first one where the heraldry of private persons has appeared. The arms decorating the key stone is a remarkable example how proud were the Szécsis of their achievements, considering the seat of the bishopric almost their private property, being in charge of it for several decades. Probably this was not an isolated phenomenon. Similar tendency using heraldry in the context of ecclesiastical architecture could have been identified on other cathedrals of Hungary, if they would have been preserved or not so heavily restored during the past two centuries.

The next stop of our survey is the parish church Reghin (Szászrégen). In the fourteenth century this important settlement was the centre of an estate made up of twenty-four villages, being in the property of the Losonci family. There is no evidence how the family entered in the property of it, but it was in the possession of all of the three branches of the family. Although on the territory of the estate they built two castles (Mentővár and Idecs), Reghin has remained the centre of it, where the family had its own manor house. According to an early inscription that has survived, the parish church was finished around 1330.<sup>4</sup> The commissioner of this church was Tamás Losonci, who between 1315–1320 was the Count of the Székely. An interesting moment in the history of the church has occurred half a century later, during the 1380s, when the then lord of the property, László Losonci tried to obtain the consent of the pope to transform the parish church into an Augustinian monastery. This was probably related to a residential plan for the family, close to the church. The plan was to raise the nearby Saint George chapel to the status of the parish church. According to the later sources everything remained unchanged, but several architectural features clearly demonstrate that some construction activity was carried out on it in the 1380s. First of all I would like to call the attention to a coat of arms placed on the key stone from the south nave of the church, and related to this construction period. The triangular shield is facing sinister and it is charged with a griffin sergeant. Above the shield a pot helmet was placed and some traces of the crest and the mantling are preserved.

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<sup>3</sup> Sarkadi, Gyulafehérvár, 106–107.

<sup>4</sup> Entz, Géza, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században*. Kolozsvár, 1996. 55, 454.

Considering its shape and style it obviously follows the heraldic tradition of the Anjou period, and together with the rest of architectural carvings demonstrates the existence of a separate construction phase at the end of the fourteenth century. Concerning the person of László Losonci who is mentioned in the written records there are two possibilities. He could be the one who started his career as castellan of Bistrița (Beszterce) and was Ban of Slavonia between 1387–1389. But it is very likely that he is László from the Dezsőfi branch of the family who was Voivode of Transylvania for about two decades, between 1376–1389.<sup>5</sup> Thus it is not surprising that for the first time in Transylvania private heraldry involved in ecclesiastical architecture has appeared in a church under the patronage of the Losonci family. This was the most important family from this region, who can be unequivocally considered member of the Hungarian aristocracy. They were holding several times high offices in the kingdom, and was the first family in Transylvania having in their property tree castles at the same time.

Thus, the beginning of private heraldry used in ecclesiastical architecture is related to two families, both members of the aristocracy. However, this situation was about to change soon. An early and beautiful example for this is the church of Mălâncrav (Almakerék) under the patronage of Apafi family.<sup>6</sup> In the fourteenth century the family was in the property of about 10–15 villages. Their members were in charge of some minor offices at the level of the county or judges of the nobles (*iudex nobilium*). Following the visit of Transylvania by King Louis I in 1366, they appeared among the courtly knights of the king, but no higher offices they were holding. Greater ambitions seem to had Miklós Apafi who between 1414–1418 was appointed by King Sigismund castellan of castles from south Hungary: Srebrenik (Szrebernik), Vranduk és Dubovac (Dobóc).<sup>7</sup> For a while he was Count of Biertan (Berethalom). It seems that the career of Miklós Apafi was the highlight of the family history, because in the next century they were missing even from among the courtly knights. Nevertheless, they built a highly demanding church, which almost rivalled the Losoncis' church in Reghin. There is no doubt that Mălâncrav played an important role among the family estates, where they set up a manor house, and the church also served as burial place for the family. The church was built at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and shortly after it was decorated with mural paintings of great quality. It was transformed around 1400, when a new choir was built, being also decorated with

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<sup>5</sup> Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. II. Budapest, 1996. 148–149 [hereinafter Engel, Archontológia].

<sup>6</sup> Gogâltan, Anca – Dóra, Sallay, "The Church of Mălâncrav and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa", In: *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben*. Satu Mare, 2002, 181–202; Gogâltan, Anca, "The Self: Religious and Noble Identity in Late Medieval Transylvania", = *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, 58, 2013, 49–77.

<sup>7</sup> Engel, Archontológia. I. 306, 435, 463.

high quality frescoes. Thanks to its well preserved murals, it counts among those churches, which still retain a particular medieval atmosphere. The eastern bay of the choir vault, right above the main altar holds a key stone decorated with the arms of the Apafi family. Actually it displays only the bucket helmet, the mantling and the crest. A writing around the arms mentions a person called Apa, the rest of the words could not be interpreted. The whole achievement is quite archaic. This is demonstrated by the majuscule writing, the type of the helmet, and the design of the achievement, which follows the design of the fourteenth century so called helmet-seals. Based on a coloured arms of the Apafis, displayed on the predella of the winged altar of the church, one can reconstruct the tinctures of the key stone arms: the mantling was probably gules, the crest vert.<sup>8</sup> The commissioner of the new choir was probably Apa III, mentioned by the inscription, and his son, Miklós Apafi, who was a prominent member of the family. To the age of the latter can be dated the new mural paintings in the choir. We know about him that in 1424 he founded a chapel in honour of the Holy Blood. Thus, the church of Mălâncrav represents the taste and the possibilities of a middle-class noble family, who were not able to reach the high demand of the Losoncis, but definitely represented above the average the patronage activity of the middle-class nobility.

During the fifteenth century the heraldic display was embraced by the lower nobility too. A good example in Transylvania is the case of Kakas family who had only a one village property in Kolozs County, Boteni (Botháza).<sup>9</sup> Only two generations of the family are known from the mid fifteenth century. In 1458 the male line of the family has already died out. The church of Boteni was built at the end of the thirteenth century. An armorial tablet placed above the main entrance to the church mentions about a building activity around 1450. The tablet displays the arms of the Kakas family: a sword palewise and two cocks respectant. The shield is placed in the same barbed quatrefoil frame and to sinister the letter “i” or “l” can be deciphered. Since the letters do not refer to the owner of the coats of arms they probably have another meaning or message. The patron of this small church was Imre Kakas a noble from Transylvania, one of the János Hunyadi’s supporters. He has probably rebuilt the church at some extent, and placed this memorial plaque on that occasion. The career of Imre Kakas and the quality of the relief clearly reflects the social statues of the patron family who

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<sup>8</sup> Sarkadi Nagy, Emese, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania*. Thorbecke, 2012. 173–175.

<sup>9</sup> Benkő, Elek, “A botházai református templom építési feliratai”, = *Erdélyi Múzeum* 56, 1994, 3–4: 56–61; Lupescu, Radu. “A kolozsvári Szent Mihály-templom nyugati kapuja”, In. *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania – Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben*. V. Satu Mare, 2012. 185.

commissioned the reconstruction and demonstrates the strong influence of the patronage activity of the aristocracy.

The case of the four families presented above illustrates the process, as in addition to the usage of heraldry in administration, the heraldic culture has become more diverse and penetrated into the lower strata of the noble society. While this process culminated in the fifteenth century there were always new tools to increase the range of the heraldic display. In this sense come to the fore beside the single coat of arms the so called series of arms, which for the first time appeared in the context of the royal court architecture on the territory of Hungary. We know from descriptions about the existence of a so called Heraldic Tower set up near the Sigismund palace in Buda Castle, displaying probably a complex heraldic program.<sup>10</sup> An early example of heraldic series in Transylvania can be found in the church of Vingard (Vingárd) placed under the patronage of the Vingárti Geréb family.<sup>11</sup> They started to acquire landed properties in Transylvania from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in the next century they became one of the wealthiest families in this region. The marriage of János Geréb with Zsófia, the sister-in-law of Governor János Hunyadi, strongly influenced the career of him, being the Castellan of Gurghiu (Görgény) from 1448, later Voivode of Transylvania and finally vice governor. At Vingard was the most important residence of the family, where they built an imposing church. According to an inscription placed on the western façade of the church János Geréb was the patron who finished the construction of it. The church was lavishly decorated with heraldic arms. Especially the choir of the church calls our attention, where the arms of the Geréb, Szilágyi and Hunyadi family was displayed on the key stones, alluding to their relationship. The first arms is quarterly: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter barry of eight (for Hungary); 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter double-cross (for Hungary); 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter three leopards' faces, tongued and crowned (for Dalmatia); 4<sup>th</sup> quarter a lion rampant, crowned, holding a crown (for the County of Bistrița). The second shield is charged with a lion, crowned, tongued, naissant from a crown. The base is barry of four (for the Geréb family). The third shield is charged with a goat horned and unguled, naissant from fire, touching a twig (for the Szilágyi family). The fourth arms displays a raven (corbie) with a ring in his beak, holding a twig. To sinister chief a crescent reversed moon and a five pointed estoil. The order of the arms has a particular meaning and follows a social hierarchy. Thus the series starts right above the main altar, which was the most significant place in the altar with the arms of King Matthias, and continues with the rest of the arms. On the second place is the heraldic symbol of the patron János Geréb, on the third the arms of his wife

<sup>10</sup> Balogh, Jolán, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*. I. Budapest, 1966. 47.

<sup>11</sup> Gündisch, Gustav – Harald Krasser – Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartskirchen", In. Gustav Gündisch – Albert Klein – Harald Krasser – Theobald Streitfeld (eds.): *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*. Köln – Wien: Böhlau, 1976. 134–192.

Zsófia Szilágyi, and finally on the fourth place the arms of the Hunyadis. The relationship between the Gerébs and Szilágyis is reflected by the vault of the sacristy too, where on one of the key stones was placed the arms of the Geréb family, on the other one the arms of the Szilágyi family. The rich heraldic program of the church of Vingard was not a unique case in Transylvania, but followed a tendency established by the patronage activity of János Hunyadi.

Starting with the humble village church of Boteni and continuing with the prestigious church of Vingard our attention is drawn now by the personality of János Hunyadi, his patronage and heraldic display. He was an exceptional character, in many ways a pioneer in the History of Hungary, and played an important role in spreading the heraldic culture and establishing new standards. Its source was first of all the refined courtly culture of King Sigismund where he spent several years, and the court of the Visconti in Milan, where he stayed for almost two years. All this experience gained from abroad was implemented at Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad) where in the 1440s he started to build a magnificent residence.<sup>12</sup> Among its particular features is a mural painting depicting fourteen coats of arms covering the wall of the so-called Matthias Loggia. It is a remarkable testimony of Hunyadi's aristocratic display, and gives an insight into the political life of the social elite of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>13</sup>

The Heraldic Wall consisted of two registers. The upper part was a row of fourteen armorial bearings, the lower was made up of a bushy vegetal ornamentation. Starting from left to right the following blazons were depicted:

1. King Wladislaw I Jagiello (1440–1444). Quarterly. 1<sup>st</sup> field gules, eagle displayed Argent, armed, beaked and crowned or (for Poland); 2<sup>nd</sup> field barry of eight, Argent and gules (for Hungary); 3<sup>rd</sup> field gules, double cross Argent on three hills vert (for Hungary); 4<sup>th</sup> field gules, an armoured knight armed, mounted on a horse salient, holding in his dexter hand a sword above his head Argent. A shield Azure hangs on the sinister shoulder of the knight, charged with a double cross or. The horse saddles, straps, and belts Azure (for Lithuania).

2. The second coat of arms refers to the Hédervári family (paly of six, gules and Argent). In the mid-fifteenth century this family provided some very influential and important officeholders, such as Imre Hédervári, Ban of Macsó (Mačva), László Hédervári Bishop of Eger, but first and foremost Lőrinc Hédervári

<sup>12</sup> Lupescu, Radu, "Vajdahunyad Castle", In: Péter Farbaky et al (eds), *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*. Exhibition catalogue. Budapest, 2008. 186–187.

<sup>13</sup> Lupescu, Radu, "Lay and Ecclesiastic in the Heraldic Representation on the Matthias Loggia in Hunedoara Castle", = *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolya. Historia* 58, 2013. 31–48.



(†1447) Palatine of Hungary (1437–1447).<sup>14</sup> Being placed right next to the coat of arms of the king, it is very likely that it refers to the palatine of Hungary.

3. The owner of the third coat of arms was the Garai family (azure, a serpent glissant, crowned or, who appears to have an orb with cross in his mouth or). At that time the head of the family was László Garai (†1459), who held some very important positions, but beyond these offices he represented one of the most influential families of Hungary, his ancestors being Palatines of Hungary for a long period. He was Ban of Macsó (1431–1441, 1445–1447), and Palatine of Hungary (1447–1458). László was one of the leading figures of the party opposing János Hunyadi.

4. The fourth blazon belongs to the Újlaki family (Party per fess. Chief azure, a fess gules. Base gules. Overall an Angel azure, naissant from a crown or, winged, crowned or). It was represented by Miklós Újlaki († 1477) who had a career strongly connected with that of János Hunyadi. They were appointed together Ban of Szörény (Severin), chief captain of Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade), Voivode of Transylvania and Count of the Székely. Beside these offices, he was Ban of Macsó for a long period (1438–1458) and count of several counties of Hungary.

5. The next blazon places the Csáki family in the fifth position (azure, a man's half-length-portrait, haired and bearded or, calpac and overcoat azure). Its members held some important offices during the reign of King Sigismund. In the next period only Ferenc Csáki († cc. 1470) managed to be appointed Count of the Székely (1439–1440, 1446–1448) and count of some other counties. Ferenc was a trusted man of János Hunyadi, who joined the governor in his campaign to Kosovo in 1448.

6. The sixth coat of arms belongs to the Losoncis (gules, a griffin sergeant sable, winged or), the wealthiest family in Transylvania. During the civil war in 1440–1441 they sided with the Habsburgs, and after their defeat the Losoncis were neglected by the Jagiellonian royal court. Until 1441 Dezső Losonci was the Voivode of Transylvania, an office granted in the same year by Wladislaw I to János Hunyadi and Miklós Újlaki. In the mid-1440s the conflict between János Hunyadi and the Losoncis appears to have been settled. The nephew of Dezső Losonci, Benedek, joined the army of János Hunyadi in 1448, and died at the Battle of Kosovo.

7. The owner of the seventh coat of arms was the Rozgonyi family (azure, a cygnet displayed or, naissant from a crown or). Many of its members held important offices. Among them Simon Rozgonyi was Bishop of Eger (1440–1444) and his

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<sup>14</sup> Offices are specified based on the archaeontology made by Pál Engel, *Archontológia, passim*.

brother, György († cc. 1457) Judge royal (1441–1446). Because on this side of the Heraldic Wall are placed the coats of arms of the lay main office holders, it is very likely that this blazon refers to György Rozgonyi, the Judge Royal of Hungary.

8. It is interesting to observe the presence of the armoury of the Bánfi of Alsólendva family in the eighth position (azure, an ox's head caboshed or). They held no important offices in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the middle of that century the family was represented by two brothers, István and Pál. Both of them were regarded as members of the social elite of Hungary, although they were not officeholders at that time. István Bánfi of Alsólendva died at the Battle of Kosovo in 1448.

#### 9. Unknown

10. The tenth coat of arms refers to the owner of the castle, namely the Hunyadi family, more precisely to János Hunyadi (azure, a raven (corbie) displayed proper (sable) naissant from a crown or, a ring in his beak or). He, besides some other important offices, was Voivode of Transylvania (1440–1446) and after that Governor of Hungary (1446–1453).

11. Regarding the eleventh coat of arms there was no doubt even from the nineteenth century that it belonged to the Szécsi family (gules, two-headed eagle, crowned or. Above the arms a scarlet cardinal's hat having cords and tassels pendent on either side gules). However, only recent research has discovered the cardinal's hat above the heraldic shield, which offers a distinct clue to the person the blazon refers to. It is the blazon of Cardinal Dénes Szécsi (†1465) Archbishop of Esztergom (1440–1465).

#### 12. Unknown

13. The thirteenth blazon can be attributed to András Kálnói, bishop of Pécs (1445–1455): azure, latin cross or, three fleur-de-lis or, two mullets of six points or.

14. The last one refers to Mátyás Gatalóci, Bishop of Veszprém (1440–1457): gules, three horseshoes Argent.

Considering the time interval specified for these officeholders the Heraldic Wall was painted very likely in 1445, or in 1446 at the latest. In this context especially the career of András Kálnói is a determining factor, being appointed bishop of Pécs in 1445. It was the year when the return of King Wladislaw I was still awaited after the severe defeat of the Christian army at the Battle of Varna. The deadline for return was set by the Hungarian Diet for the end of May 1445.

However, there are some clues for a slightly later dating, too. The presence of the armouries of the Hungarian barons in the castle of a noble family seems to be very strange in the context of the aristocratic display of that time. There is no other evidence in this respect among the Hungarian nobility. János Hunyadi was Voivode of Transylvania, in charge only of a region of the kingdom. He had no authority over the whole of Hungary. This armorial program fits better the next stage of his career, when he was elected Governor of Hungary in 1446. As governor, Hunyadi took over some elements of the royal display, and the heraldic presence of the barons in his castle is much more acceptable. This is the period when the position of the raven in his arms was slightly changed. Previously it was displayed mainly from profile, but now appeared frontally resembling much more an eagle. In this case the presence of the Jagiellonian coat of arms on the Heraldic Wall can be regarded as a retrospective insertion in this heraldic program, but even in this case the murals were painted not later than the mid-1440s.

Up to this time the Heraldic Wall has been dated to the period 1460–1480s, namely during the reign of King Matthias. This is the reason why, based on the arms, the whole construction that housed these paintings, that is the loggia, was called the Matthias Loggia. Considering the new dating of the arms, it seems that this loggia-like architecture now has to be dated a little bit earlier, and is related to the king's father, János Hunyadi.

The relatively accurate identification of the armorial bearings allows us not only to date the fresco, but some important conclusions can be reached concerning the meaning and the logic of this heraldic composition.

In the context of the interpretation of the Heraldic Wall it is very important to establish whether the whole row of the blazons was preserved, or it has some missing parts. Since the row starts with the royal coat of arms the beginning of it has no missing parts. The end of the row seems to be complete as well, because the frame of the last blazon is not adjoining a new one, but stops. Thus the fourteen coats of arms form a complete series, which is a rare record of medieval Hungarian heraldry.

The coats of arms were not placed randomly in the row of the Heraldic Wall but the position of them was carefully weighted. First of all, our attention is called to the blazon of János Hunyadi. It is larger than the rest of the arms and it has a more elaborate frame and ribbons with texts. It is noteworthy that the blazon was not placed either at the beginning of the row or in the middle of it. It was placed slightly to the right of the centre, probably just above the entrance to the main chamber of the first floor. Apart from this blazon, the row of the coats of arms has to be read from left to right. It starts with the arms of the king and continues with eight further arms until that of the Hunyadis. The common feature of these arms is that their owners are laymen, mostly principal officeholders, called barons in Hungary. The row continues on the right of the Hunyadi arms

with the coats of arms of the prelates. It means that this heraldic program is articulated by two main arms, that is the blazon of the king and of János Hunyadi. The rest of the arms make up two groups: the armouries of the barons and of the prelates. Not all the families present in this program were involved in the governance of the kingdom. The members of the Losonci and Bánfi of Alsólendva families held no offices at that time. But without doubt they were very influential. It is remarkable to note the presence of some of the most important political enemies of János Hunyadi, especially László Garai. This demonstrates clearly that the heraldic program was not based on the sympathies of János Hunyadi, but more likely on the political reality. Probably all of them were members of the Royal Council, although the council was made up of many more members.

The castle of Hunedoara was not the only construction commissioned by János Hunyadi where royal and noble heraldry was combined. In the cathedral of Alba Iulia there is a collection of three tombstones placed there in the memory of the members of the Hunyadi family. Two of them, as it looks now, are made up of different carvings and there is a huge debate concerning their actual appearance. The third one seems to be a homogeneous work made of reddish limestone. According to the inscription running on the margin of the sarcophagus this monument was commissioned by János Hunyadi, the Governor of Hungary, in the memory of his younger brother, called also János (Iohannes Miles), who died in 1440. Considering that the senior János was elected governor in 1446, it is evident that the monument was not commissioned right after the death of his brother, but about a decade later.<sup>15</sup>

It is a so called false sarcophagus because the interior of it did not was shaped out to accommodate the body of the deceased. The body of *Iohannes Miles* is represented on the lid of the tomb in high relief. Under his head, instead of a pillow, there is a beaked helmet with large, fringed cover. He wears a richly decorated mail. His waist is corded by a baldric with buckle on which hangs a sword (on the left side) and a dagger (on the right side). In the right hand holds a flag and tramples on a lion with the feet. The legs and the arms are missing and the face is destroyed. Three sides of the sarcophagus are carved on each of them being displayed a coat of arms. The first shield is charged with an eagle displayed. Although the last King of Hungary at that time was a Jagiellonian ruler (Wladislaw I), this is not the Jagiellonian eagle because it is not crowned but probably the royal eagle of King Sigismund of Luxemburg. The next shield displays the arms of the Hunyadi family: a raven (corbie) with a ring in his beak, holding a twig. The third shield is barry of eight for Hungary. All of the shields are placed in a barbed quatrefoil frame.

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<sup>15</sup> Varga – Lövei, *Funerary Art*, 136, 151–152.

The selection of the burial place for the members of the Hunyadi family, and the type of the funerary monument commissioned was carefully weighted. Although not exclusively, in Hungary the sarcophagus fitted first of all the tradition of the royal burials. János Hunyadi, as the governor of the kingdom, selected a type of funerary monument that fitted his new status, and it was not placed between the walls of a familial monastery, but in a cathedral, where he planned to set up a burial place for his family.

But heraldic innovations associated with János Hunyadi did not stop here. It is well known that the return of King Ladislaus V to Hungary was preceded by serious debates concerning the political power of János Hunyadi in the new context. As part of the compromise the king raised the district of Bistrița to the rank of a county, and bestowed it on János Hunyadi together with the title of perpetual count of Bistrița. Among the high nobility of Hungary Hunyadi was the first who held this title and put the basis of a new tradition ended up with the creation of a new title that is the count. On that occasion the king extended the traditional blazon of the Hunyadis, and divided it per cross: in the first and the fourth quarter was placed the former charge of the family arms, the second and third quarter was charged by a lion passant crowned, and holding a coronet.<sup>16</sup> This was a novelty in the Hungarian heraldic usage since quartered shield were used by then only by the kings and some members of the Zilli/Cillei and Stiboricz/Stiborici family, but they brought their arms from abroad. The armorial letter described the symbolic meaning of the new charge, which was also something new in the tradition of these types of letters. The azure (white) field refers to the righteous soul of János Hunyadi, the red lion represented the hero himself who defended the crown and offered it up to the king. A beautiful phrasing of an extremely difficult political reorganization between the parties of the king and János Hunyadi taken place in 1452–1453. From that moment János Hunyadi was using this new arms, and a remarkable example of it was preserved in the castle of Hunedoara. In the mid 1450s was built a magnificent staircase, which connected the courtyard with the upper great hall. The new blazon was placed above the entrance to the staircase. It is an outstanding piece of work of our heraldic sculpture, and its quality is even increased by the presence of two tenant angels.

János Hunyadi, typically to a *homo novus*, got hold of every opportunity to strengthen his political influence, and to increase his landed properties. At the same time he used the whole set of royal and noble display to make clear his social status. The difficult political situation of the Hungarian Kingdom offered a great opportunity for him to succeed, and the coincidence of all these factors made it possible to be initiator of several new tendencies. He was not only very skilled in the art of war, but he was the first person elected governor of Hungary,

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<sup>16</sup> Farbaký, *Matthias Corvinus*, 180.

he built a unique residence for his family, and as the above presented examples demonstrate, he used heraldry as means of expression of his social status. The influence of his patronage spread soon among the rest of the Transylvanian nobility, and it is not accidental that half a century later in this region was built the chapel which retained the most complex heraldic display. It is the so called Lázói Chapel, built on the northern side of the cathedral of Alba Iulia, decorated with no less than 25 coats of arms. Thus the heraldic representation in architectural environment reached its apogee, which following the gothic period started to become much more moderate.



*Fig. 1. The tombstone of bishop András Szécsi in the Cathedral of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)*

*Fig. 2. The coat of arms of András Szécsi from its tombstone*





*Fig. 3. Key stone from the central nave of the Cathedral of Alba Iulia displaying the arms of the Szécsi family*



*Fig. 4. The Lutheran church from Reghin (Szászrégen)*



*Fig. 5. Key stone from the south nave of the church of Reghin displaying the arms of the Losonci family*



*Fig. 6. The Lutheran church from Mălâncrav (Almakerék)*





*Fig. 7. Key stone from the choir of the church of Mălâncrav (Almakerék) displaying the arms of the Apafi family*



*Fig. 8. The coat of arms of the Apafi family*



*Fig. 9.  
The Calvinist church from Boteni  
(Botháza)*



*Fig. 10. Heraldic plaque placed above  
the entrance to the church of Boteni (Botháza)  
displaying the arms of the Kakas family*





*Fig. 11.  
The Lutheran church from Vingard (Vingárd)*



*Fig. 12.  
The vaulting of the choir in the Vingard (Vingárd) church*



*Fig. 13.*

*The arms displayed on the key stones from the vaulting  
(King Matthias, Vingárti Geréb, Szilágyi, Hunyadi)*



*Fig. 14.*

*The castle of Hunedoara  
(Vajdahunyad)*



*Fig. 15. The Heraldic Wall in the castle (reconstruction)*



*Fig. 16. The coat of arms of the Heraldic Wall*



*Fig. 17. The sarcophagus of János Hunyadi junior*



*Fig. 18. The blazon granted by King Ladislaus V to János Hunyadi in 1453*



*Fig. 19. The quarterly blazon of the Hunyadis in the castle of Hunedoara*



MARCELA DOMENOVÁ

**LIBRARY CATALOGUE FROM SOPHIE BERZEVICZY'S ESTATE,  
ALBERT BERZEVICZY'S WIDOW  
(A UNIQUE FRAGMENT OF THE FAMILY LIBRARY  
FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)<sup>1</sup>**

At the end of the year 2012 an unspecified and unmarked manuscript without any incipit or dating was found during the processing of old prints in the State Scientific Library (Picture No.1). At first sight, it evoked a book list or a book catalogue. Based on documented possessory data in the form of stamps it indicated connection to the Berzeviczy family, namely Albert Berzeviczy (Berzeviczy) and Elisabeth Berzeviczy, his widow. It was attributed to Elisabeth, as the last known owner, and it was termed "the Library catalogue from Sophie Berzeviczy's estate".<sup>2</sup>

However, the subsequent research and analysis of the document emphasize the fact that the mentioned book catalogue does not date back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and does not show the status of the library of this famous landowner's family in the given period, but it indicates that the document is much older. At the same time it emphasizes the fact that its author and owner was an ancestor of Albert and Sophie Berzeviczy. The events after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire followed by policy during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century caused confiscation of the family property as well as reallocation and redistribution of a part of their family library. Only one part of the documents that were registered in the period catalogues are preserved to this day.<sup>3</sup> We will attempt to present this fact partially.

Further, as for two members of the Berzeviczy family, we may remark that Sophie, by birth Kuzmíková, was the wife of Albert Berzeviczy (1853–1936) who was a landowner, Doctor of Law, bourgeois politician, aesthetician, histo-

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<sup>1</sup> The study originated as an output within elaboration of VEGA project No. 1/0278/12: *Noble libraries in eastern Slovakia*.

<sup>2</sup> State Scientific Library in Prešov (SSL PO), sign. HA 142.

<sup>3</sup> Members of the Berzeviczy family were also patrons. They supported parish offices and schools. The fragments of the family and other personal libraries – as confiscated property are registered as fragments in the collections of other institutions, e.g. the Ministry of Interior of the SR, the State Archive in Prešov, the State Scientific Library of Prešov (Historical Funds / Štátne vedecká knižnica v Prešove – Historické fondy).

rian, assistant notary and notary of the Šariš administrative district (comitatus Sarossiensis) as well as a Member of the Diet of Hungary, Minister of cult and education. Albert, mentioned above, was the son of Amelie, by birth Szinyei-Merse and Theodore Berzeviczy<sup>4</sup> who plays an important role in the process of dating and reconstruction of the analysed manuscript of the library catalogue.

### LIBRARY CATALOGUE FROM SOPHIE BERZEVICZY'S ESTATE

The period catalogue is preserved in its original state as a manuscript with the dimensions of 19, 5 x 13 cm. The text is structured in the so-called columns (similar to table columns), and is written in brown ink by one hand. The catalogue binding is also in its original state, made of cardboard, from brown canvas with ornamental blind blocking (on both front and back cover), having a space for a pencil on the front cover. Its appearance evokes a notepad or a diary.<sup>5</sup> There are also deletions as well as the secondary hand-written notes (black pencil, red pencil), especially in the form of "Albert" or "Alb." in the text. These references directed us to Albert but not to A. Berzeviczy (1853–1936), but to his ancestor (named as Albert Sr. for the needs of the study) and to the existence and categorization of certain documents in his older library. As mentioned above, two principal period – possessory data can be found in the document, namely inscription (rectangular) stamp with the three-line text – "Library of widow Sophie Berzeviczy Brezovica"<sup>6</sup> and exlibris – similarly in a form of inscription (rectangular) stamp with the two-line text – "BERZEVICZY ALBERT KÖNYVTÁRÁBÓL"<sup>7</sup> that was a common practice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

A thematic structure of books from the library catalogue that is assigned to Sophie Berzeviczy's estate consists of 8 groups, what is very typical for a library arrangement at that time. The identification and classification to individual thematic groups is more difficult. The number of titles stated above is relative; it

<sup>4</sup> *Slovenský biografický slovník. I. zv. A – D.* [Slovak Biographical Dictionary] Martin, 1986. 233–234. Based on their relationship, they had 3 daughters and 1 son.

<sup>5</sup> Collation of document refers to [2], 73 pages based on an original hand-written marking made by pencil in the right upper corner in a form of hand-written note (written in pencil). Our secondary pagination (similarly written in pencil) in the lower corner of each page points out 149 pages of document in total. Of them pages 61–73 are blank pages.

<sup>6</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, sheet 1, or page [1]. Dimensions: 150 x 370 mm.

<sup>7</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, sheet 5a, or page 13. Dimensions: 230 x 530 mm.

<sup>8</sup> Characteristics of bookplates – ex libris in a form of the stamp for the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Jan-kovič, Ľubomír, *Exlibris a supralibros na Slovensku v 16. – 19. storočí*. [Exlibris and supralibros in Slovakia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries] Martin, 2004. 47–48.

cannot be determined because the documents are not registered continuously within a thematic group or genre and they are also rearranged or written down subsequently. There are also cases without a group statement or crossing out a group. In isolated cases, in a certain category, there is also a document that may be assigned to another group, based on its content.<sup>9</sup> Thus, only a rough overview can be presented:

- A) Vallási, erkölcsi és tankönyvek (Religious, moral and educational books – schoolbooks)<sup>10</sup>
- B) Természeti tudományok és mathesis és Philosophia (Natural sciences, mathematics and philosophy)<sup>11</sup>
- C) Gazdasági munkák s házikézi könyvek (Farming work and domestic handbooks)<sup>12</sup>
- D) Törvénytudomány, politikai munkák (Jurisprudence, political work)<sup>13</sup>
- E) Történettan (History)<sup>14</sup>
- F) Geographia és statistika (Geography and statistics)<sup>15</sup>
- G) Encyclopedicus munkák (Encyclopaedic works)<sup>16</sup>
- H) Phylologia s litteratura (Philology and literature)<sup>17</sup>

The structure of these records is defined only graphically (lines). The records are neither complete nor precise. Each “catalogued record” includes a serial number, thematic category according to scheme, the name of the author (not stated regularly); the name of the incipit or, more precisely, their combination; the place of publication, rarely the name of a printer and finally, the year of publication.<sup>18</sup> There is also a space left for notes (they are very often from the earlier period) on the other – mirror side of the record. It refers to notes as follows – the place of storage, maybe the original signature – serial number – correspondence between

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<sup>9</sup> Transcription was preserved in the form stated in the references. On the mirror page there are hand-written notes registering also number of records that should belong to the thematic group.

<sup>10</sup> Approximately 34 records.

<sup>11</sup> Approximately 73 records.

<sup>12</sup> Approximately 66 records.

<sup>13</sup> Approximately 120 records.

<sup>14</sup> Approximately 77 records.

<sup>15</sup> Approximately 104 records, including maps, too.

<sup>16</sup> Approximately 58 records.

<sup>17</sup> Approximately 271 records.

<sup>18</sup> Records without statement of place and time of edition were also found.

a document and the Theodore Berzeviczy's library from 1861<sup>19</sup> and with Albert Berzeviczy's library from 1818.<sup>20</sup> We will attempt to support this identification with a practical illustration and thus to analyse the catalogue of the given inheritance. There are also rare notes dealing with a transfer of a document, failure of its preservation, its borrowing, etc.<sup>21</sup> We will look into this problem later.

There are 804 marked records – titles in the document in total.<sup>22</sup> However, in reality there are 803 registered titles.<sup>23</sup> A numeric principle was used to stress the thematic group. There are records of the documents with the dating from the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century in the analysed catalogue. The oldest recorded print in the analysed catalogue in Berzeviczy's possession goes back to 1609 (No. 552, group H) „*L. Aurei Senecae Philosophi et M. Annaei Senecae Rhetori quae extant opera Rathelengi*“, without the place of issue. Based on comparison of the names of classic authors we can state that the record is inaccurate. It refers to the work of *L. Annaei Senecae philosophi et M. Annaei Senecae rhetoris quae extant opera*.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of the printing office, we can assume that the print was published in Antwerp.<sup>25</sup> The oldest territorially Slovakia-related print is dated back to 1611, under the record No. 346, in the group E – books from the history.<sup>26</sup> However, the title is an abridged edition of a work of Italian humanist, historian, astronomer and librarian Marzio Galeotti published by Ján Bocatius (1569–1621), with the title page *Salomon Hvyngaricvs vel de Matthiae Corvini...* The print was published in Košice at Ján Fischer's in 1611.<sup>27</sup> From the abovementioned records, the oldest prints in the amount of 18 records (2,2%) date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> cen-

<sup>19</sup> Ministry of Interior of the SR, State Archive Prešov, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy 1209–1567–1943* (MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*), inv. No. 322 (original inv. No. 238).

<sup>20</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 17, No. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Rearrangement, transfer of the document: „Tulácsnak adtam ... lásf ... sz. után” etc. Loss, non-preserving of document: „nincs”, „hianyzik”. Repeated classification of document under the same incipit: „Usque ad”. Document preserved in duplicate: „in duplő.”

<sup>22</sup> See record No. 804. SSL PO, sign. HA 142. p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Record No. 777 is missing. SSL PO, sign. HA 142. p. 116–117.

<sup>24</sup> In this case, we did not manage to determine place of issue and printer. See <http://www.worldcat.org/title/1-annaei-senecae-philosophi-et-m-annaei-senecae-rhetoris-quae-extant-opera/oclc/433686314> (November 30, 2014);

<sup>25</sup> See <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/creator/6183#> (November 30, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Recorded as „Bocatii Salomon hungarus vel de Mathiae Corv. factis Cassoviae 1611”. Title identified according to <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/g/g06273.htm> (November 30, 2014); or [http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk/lpext.dll/eRMK/3f6f/3fdb/408e#JD\\_RMNY1016](http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk/lpext.dll/eRMK/3f6f/3fdb/408e#JD_RMNY1016) (November 30, 2014).

<sup>27</sup> Ján Fischer worked in Košice during 1610–1614. Breza, Vojtech, *Tlačiarne na Slovensku 1477–1996*. [Printing works in Slovakia 1477–1996] Bratislava, 1997. 74.



tury.<sup>28</sup> They come from the printing works Liège Köln, Paris, Gedani, Amsterdam, Venetia, Frankfurt, Leipzig and Antwerp as well as from Slovakia – Trnava,<sup>29</sup> Bratislava,<sup>30</sup> Košice.<sup>31</sup> Latin language prevails but there can also be found German, French and Hungarian languages; each occurs once.<sup>32</sup> It refers to work of e.g. Johann Adam Weber (1611–1686) *Ars Corversandi...* Salzburg 1682; *Colloquia...* Leipzig 1684 from Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536) or classical writers such as – Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (70–150) *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus cum annotationibus diversorum*. Amsterdam 1700, etc.<sup>33</sup> These are in the library thanks to collecting activity of the family.

Documents from the 18<sup>th</sup> century are represented by 213 records (26,5%), with a predominance of the titles coming from the 19<sup>th</sup> century – 418 records (52,1%). There is a high number (19,2%) of titles without dating, in the amount of 154. We can infer that the most of them can be dated back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, the further research in this field is necessary. The earliest registered and dated titles come from the 50s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. the work Neý, Ferencz: *Családképek*. Pest, 1856;<sup>34</sup> Paramelle, abbè: *Quellenkunde. Lehre von der Bildung und Auffindung der Quellen* <sup>Leipzig 1856</sup><sup>35</sup> or Nagy Iván: *Magyarország családai ...* Pest 1857.<sup>36</sup> We can also infer, on the basis of our research, that the library was built or, more precisely, the catalogue was kept till the end of the 50s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In terms of the language of the document, the prevailing prints are as follows: Hungarian – approximately 40%, then German – 34,8%, followed by documents written in Latin – 15%. There is also representation of titles in French – approximately 2,4%. As for the multilingual titles – approximately 4,4% but there may be more of them (in connection with language schoolbooks, dictionaries, editions, classical writers' publications, comments, etc.). We keep a record of the

<sup>28</sup> It refers to the records No. 4, 7, 41, 51, 189, 211, 212, 295, 299, 300, 346, 542, 543, 544, 215, 534, 541, 552.

<sup>29</sup> *Corpus Juris hungarici Tomus 1–3*, 1696.

<sup>30</sup> *Campus Martius sive Institutiones Castrenses...* 1669.

<sup>31</sup> As mentioned above Bocatii Salomon h(un)garicus... 1611.

<sup>32</sup> Baróthy a béccsiáról 1659 (No. 7, group A).

<sup>33</sup> „Svetonius Tranquillus Amstelodami 1700” without a denomination of a title (No. 541, group H). Title is completed according to <http://www.worldcat.org/title/caius-suetonius-tranquillus-cum-annotationibus-diversorum/oclc/758981393> (November 30, 2014).

<sup>34</sup> Record No. 780.

<sup>35</sup> Record No. 115. p. 120, as *Abbé Patamelle Quellenkunde*. Leipzig, 1826. Title is identified according to <http://www.worldcat.org/title/quellenkunde-lehre-von-der-bildung-und-auffindung-der-quellen/oclc/18367168> (November 30, 2014).

<sup>36</sup> See record No. 443. Number of volumes is not stated. As for the year of publishing it may refer to volume I or II.

combination of German and Italian (No. 501), German and French (No. 507), Latin and German (No. 511), German and Hungarian (No. 514, 519–521), Latin and Hungarian (No. 527), French and English.<sup>37</sup> There are unique prints in Italian and in one single case in Šariš district dialect. It refers to “*Šenk palenčeny*” – with no place and year of publishing and author (record No. 207). Most likely it refers to translation of an original versed drama written by Ján Andraščík *Šenk palenčeni* (from 1844) in Šariš district dialect within 31 pages. The title was translated into Štúr’s Slovak by Michal Miloslav Hodža (1811–1870). The translation was published in print in Banská Bystrica at Filip Machold’s in 1845.<sup>38</sup>

Besides the authors from the period of Humanism, there is also a representation of classical writers such as Vergil, Ovid, Horace, T. Lucretius Carus, Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, Gn. Curtius Rufus, Titus Livius, Cornelius Nepos, L. A. Seneca, M. T. Cicero in the Berzeviczy’s library. From the field of philosophy, there is a numerous representation of Emanuel Kant’s work,<sup>39</sup> and writers of Enlightenment e.g. – F. M. Voltaire.<sup>40</sup> Literature of that time was represented by S. Kemény, Molière, Voltaire, Lord Byron. German and Hungarian literature dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century represented by writers such as Sándor Kisfaludy, Ferenc Kölcsey or Dániel Berzsenyi was very popular at that time.

In general, it may be stated that the prints from the field of linguistics, especially period literature, law, political science, statistics and geography prevail, i.e. with the emphasis on the library owner’s interests and reputation. Articuli dialectales dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century occur several times.<sup>41</sup> Some of them were in private ownership of Jozef Rikol Berzeviczy (e.g. from 1715, 1729),<sup>42</sup> or Albert Berzeviczy Sr. (from 1659, 1715, 1723, 1729).<sup>43</sup> From the field of history the following works were found in the family library: František Kazi’s (as Kazy) multi-volume work *Historia Regni Hungariae* Trnava 1737 – 1749, Košice 1750;<sup>44</sup> Ladislav Turóci’s (as Turoczi) *Hungaria suis cum regibus...* 1729, 1768;<sup>45</sup> J. Bardóši’s *Supplementum Analectorum Terrae Scepusien-*

<sup>37</sup> Linguistic structure is estimated also based on incipit and notes. Unidentified language until now: 25 records.

<sup>38</sup> Data completed according to <http://www.ssv.sk/kniznica.php> (November 30, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, e.g. record No. 63–72, 355.

<sup>40</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, e.g. record No. 46.

<sup>41</sup> Referring to documents from 1659 (No. 215), year 1715 (No. 161), 1723 (No. 216), 1729 (No. 217), 1791, 1792, 1796 (all under No. 220).

<sup>42</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 233. List of books from 1820.

<sup>43</sup> Under No. 161, 50, 51, 52. See MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 17, no.16.

<sup>44</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, No. 337–340.

<sup>45</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, No. 341, 342.

sis... Levoča 1802;<sup>46</sup> J. M. Korbinský's *Atlas Regni Hungariae*... Bratislava (s. a.), A. Sirmaia *Notitia topographica politica i. comitatus Zempléniensis*... Buda 1803 or *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, története és polgári ismérte*... Buda 1809–1810.<sup>47</sup> Religious schematisms dating back to approximately 1810–1850 found their place in the family library, too.

Titles kept in the catalogue have an interesting provenience. Hungarian, Austrian and German printing offices prevail. Namely, there are prints from Budapest (respectively Pest, Buda/ Ofen), Debrecen, Esztergom. Exceptionally, Győr, Sárospatak and Veszprém are presented too. As for German printing houses, there are Leipzig,<sup>48</sup> Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Berlin.<sup>49</sup> Prints from cities such as München, Göttingen are rare; less prints are from Zwickau, Nürnberg Halle; and Weimar, Köln, Hamburg, Wittenberg, Karlsruhe, Danzig, Jena, Braunschweig, Mannheim, Tübingen, Augsburg or Mainz in rare cases only. Austrian prints may be documented from the printing houses from the area of Wien and Graz; in rare cases Salzburg and Linz. There was also a combination of Austrian cities Wien and Eisenstadt (No. 629) or Austrian-German printing works – Wien and Halle (No. 356), etc. Prints from other European counties have their representation, too. Namely Netherlands – Amsterdam, Den Haag; Italy – Venezia, Bassani (Venezia), Milano; France – Paris,<sup>50</sup> Strasbourg; Belgium – Liège; Switzerland – Berne; Finland – Hermanstad (Helsinki); Russia – Kaliningrad;<sup>51</sup> Romania – Cluj Napoca, Micloşvara; Poland – Głogów; Croatia – Zagreb or Czech republic – Prague. As for the Slovak printing houses, we register approximately 27,6% documents in the presented catalogue.<sup>52</sup> In total, we identified the printing houses in 7 Slovak towns – Košice (40 documents), that is approximately 5%. They date back to the period of 1611, 1727–1836.<sup>53</sup> There are numerous prints from Bratislava (20 records) dating back to 1669–1844, Trnava (13 records), less from Prešov (5 records) dating back to 1822–1847, Levoča (3 records) or Banská Bystrica (1 record). We also found a combination of prints from Košice

<sup>46</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, No. 344. Sources like Bárdossy, *Supplementum Analectorum Scepusiens[is]*, resp. His further work, No. 345.

<sup>47</sup> SSL PO, sign. HA 142, no. 376, 411 (as *Notitia Comitatus Zemplén*), 412, 413 (as *Szathmár Megye ismerete I.–2. Rész.*).

<sup>48</sup> Exceptionally in cooperation with Frankfurt; less with Strasbourg, No. 438; with Swiss Lucerne, No. 75.

<sup>49</sup> Exceptionally in cooperation with Hamburg, No. 439.

<sup>50</sup> Resp. in combination of Paris and Strasbourg, No. 506, 507, 593.

<sup>51</sup> As Königsberg, No. 355.

<sup>52</sup> Several records do not include place of issue. It can be assumed that a number of prints of Slovak origin in the catalogue can be even higher.

<sup>53</sup> As for printers, there are mentioned: Karol Werfer, Jesuit print works, or Wigand – most probably K. F. Wigand who, however, worked in Bratislava. Breza, Tlačiarne, 51.

and Leipzig (2 records), Bratislava – Košice (1 record), Bratislava – Komárno (1 record). Some prints are connected with Prešov: e.g. *Corpus Juris: Corpus Juris, In Compendio Exhibens... 1847. Pars I.* written by Alexander Duchnovič (1803–1865) and printed by Eduard Redlitz in 1847.<sup>54</sup> Other works are – *A három béke fejedeleme*. Eperjes, 1822, written by András Farkas (1770–1832)<sup>55</sup> as well as the work – *Sárosmegye helyirata*. Eperjes, 1846,<sup>56</sup> written by a principal district doctor, native of Sabinov, Ede Bartsch (1796–1871).

We also found 14 well-preserved maps and plans dating back to 1799–1913 in the archive collection of the family.<sup>57</sup> To make the picture complete and to compare written and physically preserved cartographic sources we can state that not only book of travels but also maps<sup>58</sup> and atlases are registered in the library catalogue that belonged to widow Sophie Berzeviczy, in the category under the letter F (Geographia és statistika). As for maps, there is e.g. „*Helvetiae tabula Geographia*“, under No. 368, dating back to 1712 and the Map of Switzerland without any dating that exists in the archive physically till today.<sup>59</sup> We can find there „*Österreichische Monarchie*“ 1803 under No. 370 and „*Tabula Regni Hungariae*“ from 1753 under No. 373.<sup>60</sup> We register a well – preserved map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1803 in the State Archive; however, being correct, it is a general map of the Austrian Empire.<sup>61</sup> Further, e.g. Hungarian Railway Map „*Magyarországi vasút hálózatkának terve*“ from 1840 can be found under No. 383; there is physically kept a map of railway lines in Hungary in the archive but it dates back to 1838.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>54</sup> In the catalogue as: *Alexander Duchnovics Jus Canonicum Eperjes 1847*, under No. 188, group B. Data completed according to <http://sclib.svkk.sk/his01/Record/000001094> (November 30, 2014).

<sup>55</sup> In the catalogue as: Szinyei Farkas A káron béke Fejeden Eperjes 1822. Under No. 325, group E. Data – see [http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farkas\\_Andr%C3%A1s\\_\(k%C3%B6lt%C5%91\)](http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farkas_Andr%C3%A1s_(k%C3%B6lt%C5%91)) (November 30, 2014); or <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/f/f05097.htm> (November 30, 2014).

<sup>56</sup> In the catalogue as Bartsch Ed. *Sárosmegye helyirata* Eperjes 1846. Under No. 409, group F.

<sup>57</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 244.

<sup>58</sup> Some without closer description. E.g. SSL PO, sign. HA 142, No. 433–435. p. 70, as „*régi térkép*”.

<sup>59</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 244/No. 4.

<sup>60</sup> We can state that maps *Österreichische Monarchie* (Karte). 1803; *Tabula regni Hungariae*. Posonii, 1753 are also registered in the catalogue from 1869, in group C: *Történelmi s földirati Encykloped*.

<sup>61</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 244/No. 4. It refers to torso of atlas; there is a hand-written note on the map, probably with older signature.

<sup>62</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 244/No. 5. There is a hand-written note on the map with other signature.

## THEODORE BERZEVICZY – THE OWNER OF THE DOCUMENTS AND COMPILER OF THE CATALOGUE

Now we are coming to originally proposed question – whose library catalogue it is and what period it comes from. The fact of occurrence of the earliest recorded documents from the 50s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century registered in the catalogue as well as the fact of existence of the secondary notes with reference to certain “Albert”, to other – an original owner of the books or a kind of older catalogue or list point out that the undated catalogue from Elisabeth Berzeviczy's inheritance does not show the state of family library from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but it itself belongs to the half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Based on the unique catalogues or book lists from the libraries of several members of the Berzeviczy family preserved in the archive collection it is possible to draw more precise conclusions. Nowadays, we know Albert Senior's book list from 1818 (235 document records), Jozef's (Rikolf) book list from 1820 and Theodore Berzeviczy's book list from 1861 (876 document records) and 1869 (1304 document records).<sup>63</sup> On the basis of these book lists, we can study the process of building and an internal arrangement of this noble book collection during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as a patronage of the family in a form of donating a part of the documents from the library<sup>64</sup> to a parish office in Ľubotín<sup>65</sup> dating back to around 1861 – approximately 123 titles in 132 volumes<sup>66</sup>; or to a parish office in Brezovica in 1862<sup>67</sup> – 109 titles in 112 volumes by Theodore Berzeviczy what was subsequently reflected in a decreased number of books from his book collection that was marked in the earlier lists.

The Library catalogue from widow Berzeviczy's inheritance was compared with the lists and catalogues from 1818 (Picture No. 1), 1820 (without connection or coherence), 1861 (Picture No. 2) and 1869. We state several illustrations of records from one list and three catalogues – lists (Table 1) for comparison. We selected just a few titles as an illustration allowing us to reconstruct single catalogues as well as notes (secondary, written in pencil) and to determine their mutual connection. We found concordance as well as several exceptions –

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<sup>63</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*. Document dating back to 1818 is saved under inv. No. 17, No. 16. Nowadays, other lists and catalogues are saved under new inventory number 322.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. by Sophie and Albert to Piarist Library in Sabinov.

<sup>65</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 322. „Consignatio librorum....”, undated.

<sup>66</sup> Domenová, Marcela, „Theodore Berzeviczy a jeho knižný dar fare v Ľubotíne z 2. polovice 19. storočia” [Theodore Berzeviczy and his book donation to the parish office in Ľubotín from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century], = *Annales historici Presovienses*, 13, 2013, 2: 21–32.

<sup>67</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 322 „Consignatio librorum...”

shifts in a description and notes probably caused by unintentional shift (of e.g. lines) or inattentiveness.<sup>68</sup> However, to the table, we state the real record numbers under which a document is registered.

**Table 1.** *Comparison of the catalogue records after widow Berzeviczy, Albert Senior's book list and the book lists from Theodore Berzeviczy's library*

Catalogue after widow Berzeviczy	Albert Sr.'s book list. (1818)	Theodore Berzeviczy's book list (1861)	Theodore Berzeviczy's book list (1869)
No. 10 TARNÓCZY, István: <i>Holtig való barátság</i> . Nagy Szombat 1707	No. 8	No. 8	—
No. 12 SZÖNYI, Benjamin: <i>Szentek hegedűje</i> . Pozsony 1774	No. 10	No. 10	—
No. 37 GANÓCZI: <i>Prudentia humana</i> . Pozsony 1777	No. 73 under Prudentia humana	No. 37 — given to parish office	—

<sup>68</sup> E.g. under title Milderberg, *Kurze Geschichte von Siebenbürgen*. Hermannstadt, 1840 is registered in the catalogue from widow Berzeviczy's inheritance under No. 335, group E. A reference written additionally in pencil states that it is not registered in A. Berzeviczy Sr.'s list; it should be registered in T. Berzeviczy's list from 1861 under No. 250. We verified Theodore's list from 1861 physically; the title is registered under No. 249. There is a date written in pencil stating that in the catalogue from widow Berzeviczy's inheritance it should be a note under No. 334 and in Theodore's catalogue from 1869 under No. 212.

There is another example referring to the title Kazy, *Historia regni Hungariae. I. 1601–1637, II. 1637–1663, III. 1664–1681*. Tyrnaviae, 1737, 1741, 1749. It is registered in widow Berzeviczy's inheritance under No. 337–339, group E. There is the secondary note written additionally in pencil stating that in A. Berzeviczy Sr.'s list it was registered under No. 39–41, in T. Berzeviczy's list from 1861 under No. 252–254. After verification of T. Berzeviczy's catalogue from 1861 the title was registered under No. 251–253. Notes written in pencil referred to the catalogue after widow Berzeviczy and No. 336–338, to T. Berzeviczy's book list from 1869 and No. 121–123. We also verified T. Berzeviczy's catalogue from 1869. The title was registered in the volume 4 under No. 121–124. References written in pencil referred to T. Berzeviczy's list from 1861 and records under No. 251–254. See SSL PO, sign. HA 142; MV SR, ŠA PO, coll.: *Rodina Berzeviczy*, inv. No. 322; inv. No. 17, No. 16.

Catalogue after widow Berzeviczy	Albert Sr.'s book list. (1818)	Theodore Berzeviczy's book list (1861)	Theodore Berzeviczy's book list (1869)
No. 63 KANT, Immanuel: <i>Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft</i> . Gratz 1796;	No. 166	No. 63	No. 63
No. 335 MILDERBERG: <i>Kurze Geschichte von Siebenbürgen</i> . Hermannstadt, 1840	—	No. 249	—
No. 337–339 KAZY: <i>Historia regni Hungariae. I.–III.</i> Tyrnaviae, 1737, 1741, 1749	No. 39–41	No. 251–253	vol. I–IV. , No. 121–124
No. 343 BONFINI: <i>Historia Mathiae regis Hungariae. S.l., s.a.</i>	No. 44 (!)	No. 257	No. 118
No. 344 BÁRDOSSY, J.: <i>Supplementum analectorum Scepusiens. Leutschoviae</i> , 1802	No. 58	No. 257	No. 133
No. 376 KORABINSZKY: <i>Atlas Regni Hungariae</i> . [Pressburg], s.a.	—	No. 290 – deletion, shifted to No. 845	No. 280





Dobson	1814	68. 41
		86. alb
		84 alb
Barani	1777	85 alb
Barani	1787	87. alb
Barani	1788	82 alb
Barani	1789	212 0
Barani	1858	79 alb
Barani	1861	80. alb
Gloga	185	
Barani	1778	212 0
		212 0
Barani	1779	212 0
		212 0

Serial No. in the Catalogue of Theodore B. (from 1861) ↑ ↑ in the Catalogue of Albert B. (from 1818)

Picture 3 – Illustration of the Library catalogue from Sophie Berzeviczy's estate

Based on their comparison, we can conclude that the catalogue from the so-called Sophie Berzeviczy's estate (Picture No. 3) does not belong to her, nor her husband Albert. It belongs to the library of the landowner, Theodore Berzeviczy, i.e. her father – in – law. Sophie and her husband inherited the given catalogue. As stated above, it can be dated back to about the 50s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that is determined by other preserved sources – book lists. The last factor that moves the origin of the catalogue to the end of the 40s(!), or keeping the catalogue in the 50s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, maybe even in 1861, are handwritten notes of great value. It is the last type of the notes (in pencil). It is probably connected with a movement, or even with a borrowing of the books from the Berzeviczy's book collection by individuals, also outside the family seat, e.g. to the areas such as – Ľubotín or Prešov. Only some of them are dated, approximately from the periods 1848, 1853–1861. They are mainly names of some members of noble families, friends or relatives. In many cases we keep only a record of the first names that can be more difficult to identify later. Several members of Dežéfi (Dessewffy, Desseffy), Berzeviczy (B., Berzeviczy), Mariáši (Máriassy) or Pěči (Péchy) are mentioned there. Some records include a higher number of notes, or, more pre-

cisely, book loans. As regards the book loans, the edition of *Bulwér s werke* (vol. 29) from the years 1833–1853 was very popular at that time.

## CONCLUSION

The catalogue of the library of Sophie Berzeviczy's estate, widow of Albert Berzeviczy, represents a unique fragment of the family library from approximately the mid-19th century. It can be stated that it is the oldest known and preserved catalogue of the book collection that is hardbound or in a book form of the Berzeviczy family, or, more precisely, in connection with Theodore Berzeviczy so far. Its informative value reflects not only a form or structure of the contemporary catalogues and inventories of libraries, but also education and interests of its owner. It reflects the political events, social and cultural life as well as collector's activities and financial situation of the Berzeviczy family, and also their attitude towards the inherited prints – books, and their borrowing or donating.

The documents in the catalogue are divided into 8 thematic groups. Books as well as several periodicals, cartographical material and atlases can be found in the library. We are also able to restore the form of Theodore Berzeviczy's library as of the years 1861 and 1869.

Based on the secondary notes we can observe the progress of development, forms of building of the family book collection as well as its patronage. The form of the family library or the library catalogues of the family members from the period 1896–1936 remains unknown.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Translated by Katarína Turečeková – Marcela Kapustníková. Further bibliography: Benkovská, Melánia, *Inventár rodiny Berzeviczy*. [Inventory of the family Berzeviczy] Prešov, 1971.; Domenová, Marcela, *Trnavské tlače do roku 1918: katalóg starých tlačí z fondov Štátnej vedeckej knižnice v Prešove*. [Trnavské print in 1918: Catalogue of old prints from the funds of the State Scientific Library in Prešov] Prešov, 2005.; Kolodziejský, Ladislav, *Katalóg slovacikálnych kníh do roku 1918 kolegiálnej knižnice v Prešove*. [List the Slovaks books in 1918 collegial Library in Prešov] Martin, 1969.; Šelepec, Jozef, *Tlače 17. storočia*. [Prints of the 17<sup>th</sup> century] Prešov, 2005.; Pellová, Daniela, „Archívy šľachtických rodín a fragmenty ich knižníc vo fondoch Štátneho archívu v Prešove“ [The archives of noble families and their fragments in the library, the state archives in Presov] In: *Z dejín šľachtických knižníc na Slovensku I*. Ed. Marcela Domenová. Prešov, 2012. <http://www.pulib.sk/web/kniznica/elpub/dokument/Domenova1> (November 30, 2014).

**PARTICIPATION OF THE ARISTOCRACY  
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL  
AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE, EXEMPLIFIED  
BY THE DZIEDUSZYCKI FAMILY OF ZARZECZE**

The history of the Polish nation is determined not only by noble events and struggles for independence. The history of the nation is above all the history of its people. Many of them rendered service for the social, cultural, economic and intellectual development of the Polish state. Largely this development was shaped by members of gentry families, who sustained the multi-generational tradition of the cultural legacy of their families.<sup>1</sup>

Inherited membership of elites gave individuals opportunities to influence the country's destination<sup>2</sup>. Studying the history of these families, one should consider their participation in the development of spiritual and material culture. One of the oldest families connected with Jarosław's and Przeworsk's land was the Dzieduszycki family. The role of the family as well as its patronage of culture and science, was at the heart of deliberations about the cultural development of Polish gentry.

Taking into consideration the extensive subject area concerning the history of the family, its influence on material and spiritual culture was distinguished. Moreover, it was presented in the chosen time-frame of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, starting at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Dzieduszycki family significantly contributed to the development of culture. Dzieduszyccy is the old noble family of the Sas coat of arms.<sup>3</sup> The oldest record of the founder of the family is found in a document from 1411. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were settled on Lvov's land.<sup>4</sup> Being a Russian family

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<sup>1</sup> Chodźko, Ignacy, *Dworki na Antokolu*, Wilno, 1854, 366.

<sup>2</sup> Karolczak, Kazimierz, *Dzieduszyccy. Dzieje rodu. Linia poturzycko-zarzeczka*, Kraków, 2001, 7.

<sup>3</sup> This coat of arms was used also by different noble families. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, apart from Dzieduszyckich family, it was also used by the families of: Baczyńscy, Bandrowscy, Baranieccy, Bilińscy, Bratkowscy, Długopolscy, Dunajewscy, Hoszowscy, Husarzewscy, Jaworscy, Kropiwnicy, Kruszelnicy, Lityńscy, Nowosielscy, Orłowscy, Podhoreccy, Popielowie, Rozłuccy, Roźniatowscy, Rudniccy, Sulatyccy, Tatomirowie, Terleccy, Uruscy, Wisłoccy. Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Akta Grodzkie i Ziemskie* [hereinafter AGZ], vol. III, Lwów, 1872, 165; Karolczak, Kazimierz, *Rodzina Dzieduszyckich herbu Sas w XIX i XX w.*, Warszawa, 2013, 16.

at first, after gradual assimilation it acquired the full state entitlements of Polish gentry in 1434.<sup>5</sup> The count's title was granted in 1775 by Maria Theresa.<sup>6</sup>

The family bore the Sas coat of arms which, according to the family chronicler Maurycy Dzieduszycki, stemmed from Hungarian and Italian settlers who arrived in Red Ruthenia from Hungary in the fourteenth century. The coat of arms was originally German, so the Transylvanian settlers were most probably of the German origin. The original look of the coat of arms was a combination of a semicircle and a vertical line. With time, in the light blue field of the shield, the semicircle adopted the shape of a golden half-moon with its horns pointing upwards. The original vertical line was transformed into a silver arrow pointing upwards. Above each of the corners of the crescent there was a golden hexagonal star, while the entire shield was overlaid with a crowned helmet displaying a peacock's tail pierced by an arrow. The second version of the coat of arms could also be found without a helmet, but directly above the shield there was a peacock's tail with an arrow.<sup>7</sup> For centuries this coat of arms underwent many minimal changes. It is described in many Polish armorials, the oldest of which is entitled *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* by B. Paprocki from 1584.<sup>8</sup>

Taking into consideration the development of material culture achieved by the Dzieduszycki family, it is important to mention facts connected with their most important residence, which was in Zarzecze.<sup>9</sup> The Palace in Zarzecze constituted one of the most splendid aristocratic residences in the area of today's Podkarpacie, not yielding to the Potocki residence in Łańcut or the Lubomirski in Przeworsk. It should be noticed that, in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, these residences were in the bloom of their magnificence, being important centres of intellectual, social and cultural life. This period saw the development of the statutes of the Potocki, Lubomirski, Krasicki and Sapiehów families.

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<sup>5</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 22; Podhorecki, Leszek, *Dzieje Lwowa*, Warszawa, 1993, 37, 38; AGZ, vol. VII, Lwów, 1878, 106.

<sup>6</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 145. The copy of the diploma of granting the count title to Tadeusz Gerwazy Dzieduszycki and his descendants. It can be found in Dzieduszyckich Muzeum in Zarzecze. The original copy of this document is in the possession of Andrei Dzieduszycki living in Italy.

<sup>7</sup> Boniecki, Adam, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. V, Warszawa, 1902; Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. III, Lipsk, 1841, 43; Uruski, Seweryn, *Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. II, III, X, Warszawa, 1905–1913; *Polska Encyklopedia Szlachecka*, vol. II, Warszawa, 1935, 125.

<sup>8</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Dzieduszycki, Maurycy, *Kronika domowa Dzieduszyckich*, Lwów, 1865, 412–414.



*Picture 1. The first page of the diploma of granting the earl title to Tadeusz Gerwazy Dzieduszycki and his descendants granted by Empress Maria Teresa in 1775. The original can be found in The Dzieduszycki Museum in Zarzecze.*



*Picture 2. The Sas coat of arms.  
Source: Dzieduszycki Museum in Zarzecze.*

Taking into consideration the development of material culture achieved by the Dzieduszycki family, it is important to mention facts connected with their most important residence, which was in Zarzecze.<sup>10</sup> The Palace in Zarzecze consti-

<sup>10</sup> Dzieduszycki, Maurycy, *Kronika domowa Dzieduszyckich*, Lwów, 1865, 412–414.

tuted one of the most splendid aristocratic residences in the area of today's Podkarpacie, not yielding to the Potocki residence in Łańcut or the Lubomirski in Przeworsk. It should be noticed that, in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, these residences were in the bloom of their magnificence, being important centres of intellectual, social and cultural life.

This period saw the development of the statutes of the Potocki, Lubomirski, Krasicki and Sapiehow families. These families, apart from their cultural and scientific output, left a legacy in the form of exquisite aristocratic residences, manor houses and churches. One of the best-known families at the time was the Dzieduszycki family which, for generations, had significantly contributed to the development of science, culture and art. The founder of the poturzycko-zarzeckiej line of Dzieduszycki family was Józef Kalasanty, the youngest of Tadeusz's children, born in 1776 in Żukow. In his early childhood he lost his parents so he was brought up by his brother Walerian, who provided the boy with a good education. After participation in Kościuszko uprising, Józef settled in Potoczyska as the administrator of the entire area.<sup>11</sup>

The Dzieduszycki family paid careful attention to places connected with the family's past. One such historical place was Dzieduszyce which, in the nineteenth century, was in the hands of the younger line of the family. However, for the older line of the family Potoczyska, Jabłonów and Jaryszów<sup>12</sup> gained significance.

Dzieduszyccy appeared in Zarzecze at the end of the eighteenth century by the marriage of Ignacy Morski, owner of the Zarzecki area, to Magdalena, daughter of Tadeusz Dzieduszycki.<sup>13</sup>

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Zarzecki area, situated between Jarosław, Przeworsk, Kańczuga and Pruchnik, belonged to the Morski family which by marriage blended with the Dzieduszycki family.

Magdalena was an unusually intelligent woman, displaying artistic interests and curious about the world and travels. Her greatest passion was drawing and decorating houses and gardens.<sup>14</sup> On her travels she took inspiration from the best designers. Her authority in the beautifying of rural residences was the duchess Maria Wirtemberska, daughter of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 405–409.

<sup>12</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 62. The Jaryszewski area was in debts. Money lend on security of those land were used to pay debts of Tadeusza Dzieduszycki.

<sup>13</sup> Dzieduszycki, Kronika, 412–414.

<sup>14</sup> Museum of Dzieduszyckich family in Zarzecze [hereinafter MDZ], *Dzieje i opis palacu zabytkowego w Zarzeczu w powiecie jarosławskim położonego, dokonane na podstawie odczytu wygłoszonego na posiedzeniu Towarzystwa Miłośników, Jarosławia w jesieni 1945 r. przez Włodzimierza hr. Dzieduszyckiego*, 3; Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 82.

<sup>15</sup> Skowronek, Jerzy, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861)*, Warszawa, 1994, 30.

In 1800, after separating from her husband, Magdalena received a considerable part of the fortune along with Zarzecze<sup>16</sup>. At first she shared the modest steward's house with a small publishing house. She decided however to establish a fine country residence. The palace building works started in 1807, after her return from a two-year journey across all of Europe.<sup>17</sup>

The residence in Zarzecze belonged to a group of classical palaces with rondas. Here one finds many classical and neo-gothic forms, the original marks of romantic architecture. The residence with its irregular appearance differed significantly from an average country residence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>18</sup>



Picture 3. The portrait of Magdalena Morska painted by Pietro Labruzzi.

It can be found in Dzieduszyckich Museum in Zarzecze.

Source: K. Kieferling, *Zarzecze Dzieduszyckich. Przewodnik po muzeum i pałacu*, Kraków–Przemyśl 2012. 59.

The date when building work on the palace began is confirmed by a record of remuneration paid to Georg Szuster, the architect who supervised the work from 1807 to 1812. In 1807 the groundwork was ready, and a year later the roof of the main building was completed.<sup>19</sup> Almost until 1810 the palace remained incomplete, and since then all the expenses for finishing work and art by Piotr Aignera,

<sup>16</sup> Sołtysówna, Aldona, "Rezydencja Magdaleny Morskiej w Zarzeczcu", = *Spotkania z Zabytkami* 1, 2004, 20, 21.

<sup>17</sup> MDZ, Dzieje i opis, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Kieferling, Krystyna, *Zarzecze Dzieduszyckich. Przewodnik po muzeum i pałacu*, Kraków–Przemyśl, 2012, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 8.

Fryderyk and Wirgiliusz Bauman, were recorded.<sup>20</sup> 1817 may be considered as the year when building works finished, as this date is visible on one of the vaults in the basement.<sup>21</sup> However, finishing touches lasted until 1823.<sup>22</sup>

The shape of the palace was a solid block, devoid of ornamentation, with only a chamberlain tower in the Roman church style. An orangery adjoined the main building on the eastern side, rising to first floor level. The palace was built on a sloping site, so the ground floor at the side of the drive was level with the first floor at the garden side.<sup>23</sup>

The residence comprised a storied residential building, an administrative building called “the swallow”, a kitchen, and a building intended for stables and coaches which took the German name “berajternia”.<sup>24</sup>

Ferdynand Tabaczyński, a draftsman, watercolorist and lithographer from Lvov, was responsible for decoration of the interiors.<sup>25</sup> Entering the residence by a glass veranda on the east side, one would ascend the stone stairs to enter a glass hallway called “the rainy cabinet”, its walls laid with grey wainscoting and mirrors. From there, through a beautiful door made of yew tree, one would access the chambers, the first of which was the “sunny room”, probably on account of its bright and warm decor. Next to this was the bedroom of Magdalena Morska, and beyond it the studio which was destroyed in the 1860s when the roof of this part of the palace collapsed. From the studio one would enter the living room, and next to this was a hallway in which the home chapel was located. From the hallway one would access the chamber called “yellow”.

The “mirror room” was a place of social meetings and balls, also called “the round chamber”, “lower chamber” or “ballroom”. Located on the first floor of the rotunda, its original structure comprised eight arcades supporting the ceiling, with a narrow corridor behind the arcades. In the years 1819–1831 Zarzecze became one of the most renowned rural residences in the area where social and intellectual meetings took place. Chamberlain Morska hosted many balls and receptions to which she invited local young people. Her first ball was in the honor of duchess Wirtemberska in 1819.

According to Magdalena Morska’s memoir, recorded by Franciszek Ksawery Preka entitled *Czasy I ludzie*, one can learn much about the appearance of the palace at this time, and about the ball itself:

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<sup>20</sup> Jaroszewski, Tadeusz S., *Christian Piotr Aigner – architekt*, Warszawa, 1970, 262; Idem, *Pałac w Zarzeczu i grupa pałaców, z rotundą w narożu*, Warszawa, 1957.

<sup>21</sup> MDZ, Dzieje i opis, 5.

<sup>22</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 83.

<sup>23</sup> MDZ, Dzieje i opis, 7.

<sup>24</sup> Prek F. K., *Czasy i ludzie*, Wrocław, 1959. 35.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 153.



Mrs. Morska was hosting a ball in the honour of Adamowa duchess in Zarzecze. The entire neighborhood was gathered, regiment music and the house's illumination were excellent, the dinner and the supper were refined along with the housekeepers who were making the ball one of the most beautiful and cheerful. The breakfast was held in the upper apartment which consisted of the round room with the dome decorated with stucco ornaments, a really beautiful floor, not very exquisite but tasteful furniture, the Venetian room, a lot of alabaster figures, mosaics and painting bought in Italy... In the ballroom there were room tables covered with a thin paper with various pattern... On the tables there was everything to please the taste of the guests. The ball lasted till eight in the morning.<sup>26</sup>

Sunday balls for neighbours were very popular. Guests, tired after a week's work, were very willing to enjoy such amusements, and many young people tired after their week at school also attended, making friends and new contacts.<sup>27</sup>

Before each ball began the hostess showed guests around the estate, paying careful attention to buildings and their interiors.<sup>28</sup> During the ball guests participated in various games prepared by the hostess, along with many surprises.<sup>29</sup> The guests danced a lot, and the cotillion was very fashionable. Apart from the orchestra, the hostess often invited other musicians whose presence brought extra splendor to the ball.<sup>30</sup>



*Picture 4. The Palace in Zarzecze at the time of Magdalena Morska – ballroom. Painting from 1836.*

<sup>26</sup> F.K. Prek, *Czasy*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 35.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

<sup>30</sup> F.K. Prek, *Czasy*, 28.



*Picture 5. The Ballroom in 1938.*

*Source: R. Aftanazy, Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej, Wrocław, 1996. 276, 289.*



*Pictures 6, 7: The present state of the ballroom.*

*Source: Photos form the authors' private collections and from the collection of Iwona Długoń, Dzieduszycki Museum in Zarzecze.*

Magdalena Morska often held parties in nearby Siennowie at the home of a female relative, Maria Rucka from Morski. These were summer receptions in the garden, where a chamber with two rooms was erected for the purpose.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> F.K. Prek, *Czasy*, 29.

Similar balls to those in Zarzecze were organized by the Lubomirski family at their residence in Przeworsk, so the local bourgeoisie could enjoy being hosted twice a week by the most respectable families in the area.<sup>32</sup>



*Picture 8. Former men's room called „fajczarnia”, since the First World War it was a dining room. Source: From authors' own collections.*

In the Zarzecka ballroom there was no permanent furniture apart from an old, double table and a Bösendorfer piano, one of the first of its brand. Guests usually relaxed in adjacent chambers. When the balls in Zarzecze stopped, the ballroom was filled with furniture including a set in Ludwik Fillip's style.<sup>33</sup>

Next to the ballroom were steep steps leading down to the men's room, where they could smoke and play pool. At this time smoking in the presence of women was regarded as bad manners, so men had to retire to smoke a pipe or a cigar. The ballroom was destroyed during the First World War when the Hungarian army was stationed in the palace, and a dining room was created. Until then the palace had no separate dining room and, in accordance with Western European fashion, people dined in the hostess chamber or other rooms, using portable folded tables arranged in various combinations depending on the need or the number of guests. Silverware and flowers graced the tables. There was plenty of

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 35.

<sup>33</sup> Aftanazy, Roman, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej. Województwo ruskie, Ziemia Przemyska i Sanocka*, vol. VIII, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1996, 280, 282.

room in the palace, although when there were too many guests, the family and young people ate in separate rooms.<sup>34</sup>

In the south-west corner of the palace was a little cellar, previously mentioned, its ceiling supported by one pillar bearing the date on which the building of the palace was finished. In Morska's time the cellar was used as a café. The fireplace and a device used to roast coffee were used by the owners until 1945.<sup>35</sup> In the mirror chamber were steps leading to a floor which had a "multi-storey" chamber, shown in reproductions of publications by Chłędowski and Łoziński, a typical monument with empire interior décor, mostly decorated by Magdalena Morska. The countess brought most of the showpieces in this room from Italy.<sup>36</sup>



*Picture 9. The palace in Zarzecze. The "upper" chamber from the drawings of Magdalena Morska from 1836.*

*Source: R. Aftanazy, Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej, Wrocław, 1996. 277.*

<sup>34</sup> MDZ, Dzieje i opis, 9–10.

<sup>35</sup> Aftanazy, Dzieje, 274.

<sup>36</sup> MDZ, Dzieje i opis, 10.



*Picture 10. The “upper” chamber nowadays.  
K. Kieferling, Zarzecze Dzieduszyckich. Przewodnik po muzeum i pałacu,  
Kraków–Przemyśl, 2012.58.*

*Picture 11. Palace in Zarzecze, The Venetian room next to the living room  
from the collection of drawings by Magdalena Morskia from 1836.*

*Picture 12. The Venetian room nowadays*



*Source: R. Aftanazy, Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej,  
Wrocław 1996. 278. Photos are from authors' private collection.*



Picture 13. The palace according to Magdalena Morska's drawings from 1836.

Picture 14. The palace nowadays.



Source: R. Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 1996. 274.

K. Kieferling, *Zarzecze Dzieduszyckich. Przewodnik po muzeum i pałacu*, Kraków–Przemyśl 2012, okładka.

Through a glass door one would enter small private room called “venetian”.<sup>37</sup> Here was a classical fireplace of white marble, walls were decorated with paintings, and corner tables bore marble and alabaster statues. The living room was used for amateur dramatic performances, a favourite entertainment for the bourgeoisie who especially appreciated shows previously staged in Warsaw, Krakow, Lvov or Wien’s theatres. In these performances artists sought to impress with dramatic skills finer than those of the original casts. Comedies were also fashionable at balls and receptions.<sup>38</sup> The living room was also used for presentations of “live paintings” of famous artists, accompanied by biographical readings. During such a presentation a curtain was raised to reveal each picture and the guest of honour made a presentation. In breaks between presentations guests were invited to taste delicious desserts.<sup>39</sup> The living room was also a place for small family gatherings, literary and artistic discussions, and political meetings.<sup>40</sup> Until the Second World War it was a place of political gatherings, and the interiors were changed into the early empire style.<sup>41</sup> The palace was surrounded by a romantic landscaped park full of flowers and exotic trees. The countess harnessed an existing stand of old trees, the irregularities of the terrain, and a small river, to accomplish her vision for the park. From the pools and bends of the river there

<sup>37</sup> Aftanazy, *Dzieje*, 286, 287.

<sup>38</sup> Prek, *Czasy*, 17.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 14, 15.

<sup>40</sup> MDZ, *Dzieje i opis*, 11.

<sup>41</sup> Aftanazy, *Dzieje*, 288.

was created a little pond with the island in the middle, on which a wooden mill was erected. On the eastern side a conservatory and orangery were built.

Besides redecorating her residence, Countess Magdalena Morska demolished old cottages and replaced them with farmhouses in Dutch and English styles. Peasants lived here free of charge on condition that they looked after the properties, this expectation was not fulfilled and none of the buildings was preserved until the Second World War.<sup>42</sup>

Social life at the palace flourished until the November Uprising, when the palace became a hiding place for rebels and emigrants. Countess Morska refused help to nobody. For many months she fed and clothed rebels and gave them money to escape abroad.<sup>43</sup>

After the fall of the November Uprising the palace was closed to balls and meetings while Magdalena Morska devoted herself to philanthropy<sup>44</sup> and the task of documenting all of the buildings she had erected. Her sketches and drawings were collected and enhanced by the painters Józef Tabaczyński and Franciszek Blaschecka and the draftsman Antoni Toeplara. They were published in a small-circulation album entitled *Zbiór rysunków wyobrażających cenniejsze budynki wsi Zarzecza w Galicji w obwodzie Przemyskiem leżącej, częścią z natury zdjętych lub uprojektowanych, z opisem budownictwa wiejskiego w sposobie holenderskim i angielskim i ogólnymi myślami o przyozdobieniu siedlisk wiejski przez Magdalenę Morską w Wiedniu 1836 r.*<sup>45</sup>

During the January Uprising in 1863 Zarzecze became a centre for transferring people, weapons and uniforms to Solska Forest and Zamojszczyzna, while the wounded were transported to temporary hospitals in the neighbourhood set up at the request of Count Włodzimierz.<sup>46</sup> After the death of Magdalena Morska in 1847 Zarzecze was handed over to her brother Józef Dzieduszycki. Two months later Józef died<sup>47</sup> and his son Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki<sup>48</sup> inherited Zarzecze. Tadeusz owned the residence from 1889 until 1918, when it passed to Paweł Dzieduszycki. From 1918 to 1944 Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki lived at Zarzecze as the last heir of the family.<sup>49</sup> The palace remained in the hands of

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<sup>42</sup> Aftanazy, *Dzieje*, 291.

<sup>43</sup> Prek, *Czasy*, 154.

<sup>44</sup> Dzieduszycki, *Kronika*, 413.

<sup>45</sup> Sołtysówna, *Rezydencja*, 20, 21.

<sup>46</sup> Karolczak, *Rodzina*, 197.

<sup>47</sup> Józef Dzieduszycki received his inheritance based on Magdalena Morska's will from April 19, 1847. Karolczak, *Rodzina*, 192.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>49</sup> MDZ, Plague listing the names of the owner of palace in Zarzecze.

Dzieduszycki family until 1944,<sup>50</sup> when agrarian reform saw the palace and its furnishings taken over by the country's authorities. The last owner of Zarzecze, Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, hoped that a museum would be created at the palace and took nothing from the building, leaving even family souvenirs. The post-war authorities decided otherwise and created the agrarian high school instead.<sup>51</sup> Not until 2007 was the Museum Dzieduszycki created as a branch of the Orsettich Museum in Jarosław.<sup>52</sup>

*Pictures 15–18. The palace's interiors – nowadays*



*Source: From authors' own collections.*

*Source: Photographs are from the authors' private collections.*

<sup>50</sup> Kieferling, Zarzecze, 8.

<sup>51</sup> Aftanazy, Dzieje, 291.

<sup>52</sup> Kieferling, Zarzecze, 20.



Besides contributing significantly to the development of their residences, the Dziaduszyckich family was also well known for many other cultural ventures including the establishment of libraries, art galleries, museums and churches. They invested much energy in cultural and scientific development, supporting many young artists and scientific research.

One should remember that the collecting of art and books were passions of many bourgeois families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These impressive collections were created by amateurs who subsequently employed specialists and became specialists themselves. The collections remained in family ownership through many generations, although some were scattered. When financially and legally secured they became a part of the culture and they were passed to major libraries and archives.<sup>53</sup>

The Dzieduszycki family was renowned in this field as they highly prized the education and intellectual development of their children. They were collecting books and source documents, and also sponsored and conducted research. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Jerzy Dzieduszycki collected 3,500 volumes of books, including a substantial holding of history and Polish, French and Latin literature. Importantly, the collection included prints from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, complemented by manuscripts and contemporary publications. It was one of few collections in Galicia to hold a complete set of the Austrian regulations issued after the incorporation of Polish lands into the Habsburg monarchy.

Jerzy Dzieduszycki established many contacts with booksellers in Krakow and Lvov who supplied him not only with recently published books but also with rare prints, books and parchments. They also exchanged books with other bibliophiles such as August Bielowski, Tytus Działyński, Gwalbert Pawlikowski, and Edward Rastawiecki. Jerzy acquired many valuable books from Czartoryski library.<sup>54</sup> His collection was dispersed after his death, and some of the books went to Walerian Dzieduszycki's library in Potoczycze. Others went to the Ossolineum in Lvov, while many of the manuscripts went to Józef Dzieduszycki's newly created library in Poturzyce.<sup>55</sup>

Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki continued his father's passions and became one of the most renowned patrons of culture and science in the whole family. When he died the collection became disordered and was accessible only to the family. In 1858 it was transferred to Lvov. It was re-ordered by Dzieduszycki's librarian, Józef Łoziński, and made accessible to the public. The library was constantly updated, and in 1877 comprised about 30,000 books. The library was used by many writers, scholars and journalists including Karol Estreicher, Henryk

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<sup>53</sup> Karolczak, *Dzieduszyckich związki ze Lwowem*, 80.

<sup>54</sup> Karolczak, *Rodzina*, 193.

<sup>55</sup> "Józef Kalasanty Dzieduszycki", In: *Słownik Pracowników, Książki Polskiej*, Warszawa–Łódź, 1972.

Schmitt, Karol Szajnocha, Kornel Ujejski i Wincenty Pol. At the end of the nineteenth century it was considered to be one of the best libraries in Lvov.<sup>56</sup> After the downfall of the January Uprising the library could only be accessed by special permission. After the death of Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, the library returned to Kurkowa Street, Lvov, and was accessible to the public once more.<sup>57</sup>

It is worth mentioning that, in 1869, Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki founded a book collection for the National School Council which was donated to the pedagogical and educational libraries. He also donated 159 books to the academic reading room established by students.<sup>58</sup> Poturzycka Library existed in Lvov until the outbreak of the Second World War. In the autumn of 1939 one part of the collection was scattered around the country while the remainder was destroyed. In 1940 the Soviet authorities allowed the transfer of the remaining collection to the Ossolineum, while all manuscripts and documents were confiscated by NKWD. After the war they were found in the Benedictine monastery in Lvov.<sup>59</sup>



*Picture 19. The Dzieduszycki Palace at Kurkowa Street in Lvov.  
Inside there was a collection of books from Poturzycka Library Source: The collection  
from The Dzieduszycki museum in Zarzecze*

Religion played a very important role in the life of The Dzieduszycki family, thus they were propagating not only Roman and Greek Catholicism but also Orthodox religion. Among the family there were almost no arguments of a religious nature, proving their great tolerance. They were deeply devoted to faith and thus

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<sup>56</sup> Karolczak, Rodzina, 201.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 202.

<sup>58</sup> Karolczak, Rodzina, 201.

<sup>59</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 261.

nurtured religious traditions and donated money for building new churches and religious institutions.

The family founded, at the order of Jan Iwowski who lived in the years 1492–1533, the first church in Dzieduszyce village in 1520.<sup>60</sup>

Also worth mentioning is the church in Zarzecze where the Dzieduszycki crypt was built. The palace in Zarzecze erected by countess Magdalena Morska until 1844 had only a chapel used by residents and guests. Near the palace was a wooden church with a cemetery, but the countess found this out of character with the modern residence, so she decided to build the new church in Gothic style. Building work stopped because of her death in 1847. The church was finished as late as 1880 by Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, the owner of the residence of that time.<sup>61</sup> While paying tribute to all religions, he emphasized the importance of national minorities. Cultural differences were unimportant to him, though he tried to reconcile Polish and Ukrainian nationalities.<sup>62</sup>

While continuing the building of the church he changed its layout to a new neo-Roman style designed by Lvov's professor Julian Zachariewicz. Peasants from Zarzecze played an important role in the building of the church. It was also financially supported by Drohojowscy from Cieszacin Wielki, who founded the Joseph altar. The Saint Mary altar was donated by Archbishop Izaak Isakowicz, who brought it from the Armenian cathedral in Lvov which was then being rebuilt. The Dzieduszycki crypt was located in front of the main altar where the ashes of Włodzimierz's parents and his future heirs were meant to be placed. The consecration of the church dedicated to Saint Michael Archangel took place on October 3, 1880 and was performed by Krakow archbishop Albin Dunajewski.

Włodzimierz's descendants also contributed to the church's embellishment. In 1895 his four sons-in-law Zygmunt Szembeka, Tadeusz Dzieduszycki, Witold Czartoryski and Tadeusz Czarski funded the mosaic that can be found above the church doors. In the inter-war period Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki funded the Saint Michael Archangel stained glass window located above the altar.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 16.

<sup>61</sup> Przybyło, Stanisław, *Stan religijno-moralny parafii Zarzecze koło Jarosławia w latach 1939–1951*, Kraków, 1951, 6. (maszynopis pracy magisterskiej – Wydział Teologiczny UJ).

<sup>62</sup> Karolczak, Kazimierz, "Graf Wołodymyr Diduszyckij jak macenat", In. *Wisnyk Lwiwśkoji Akademii Mystectw*, 9. Ed. W. Badiak, Lwów, 1998, 31, 32.

<sup>63</sup> Przybyło, Stan, 6.



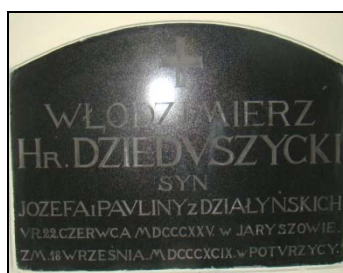
Pictures 20, 21, 22. The Saint Michael Archangel's Church in Zarzecze.  
Above the church's entrance the mosaic with Saint Michael Archangel His image can also be found inside the church in the stained-glass window above the altar



Pictures 23–26.

The Dzieduszycki crypt in church's basement.

Source: From authors' own collections,  
also from collection of Iwona Długoń,  
Dzieduszycki museum in Zarzecze.



For the Dzieduszycki family education, culture and art were of great importance. Family members were well-educated and passionate about such disciplines as bibliophily, numismatics, paleontology, history, poetry, tourism, ornithology and art collecting.

Józef Dzieduszycki was the first to support scientists, writers and also poor young people who, thanks to him, gained a good education and bonded with the family for the rest of their lives.<sup>64</sup> His house was a place where many scientific and cultural meetings were held. In 1832 the count funded an expedition by the famous geologist Ludwik Zejszner<sup>65</sup> to the Tatry Mountains. He also paid for the publication of many books. Among his protégés were Józef Łoziński, who became keeper of Paturzycka Library, and Bogusław Kopczyński, professor of forensic medicine at Jagiellonian University, who died in a young age.

The most eminent member of the Dzieduszycki family, known for his love of culture and science, was Włodzimierz. He was well-qualified at university and, like his father, was devoted to the education of poor young people. He funded scholarships and scientific and research expeditions. He contributed to the education of countless young people, many of whom became famous. He financially supported many researchers who travelled around the country and in Europe. Among them was Antoni Rehman who, after obtaining a doctorate funded by Włodzimierz, conducted an environmental research study of East Galicia. In 1862 the count founded two scholarships at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Students nominated for the scholarships were presented to him by Professor Józef Dietl. Edward Sawicki, a medicine student of Professor Dietl, won one of the scholarships.<sup>66</sup> Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki helped many people, although the exact number of them is hard to determine because the count wished his generosity to remain anonymous. Nevertheless many young people honoured his name and, years later, continued to acknowledge him in their written works. Some of the recipients of his generosity can be identified from correspondence and accounts. Such people included Adam Chmielowski later St. B. Albert, who received a scholarship to study at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, August Łoziński, Izydor Liskowacki, Józef Chudzikiewicz, Edward and Matylda Zontak, Jan Sereda, and Mieczysław Truksa. Włodzimierz's favourite who received regular grants was Jaś Mazurek. Włodzimierz's generosity enabled him to complete all levels of his education, and he undertook research in Sweden. After his doctorate he travelled in German countries and in the Balkans where, through letters of recommendation from the count, he broadened his knowledge at different academic institutions, completed a law degree, and became secretary of the Natural Museum in Lvov. The money for scholarships came from the count's private savings, and grant holders were required to report to him on their pro-

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<sup>64</sup> Protégés of Józef Dzieduszycki: Józef Łoziński (1827–1897), a keeper of Poturzycka Library, Bogusław Kopczyński (1827–1861) professor of forensic medicine at Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

<sup>65</sup> Karolczak, Kazimierz, "Mecenat kulturalno-naukowy Włodzimierza Dzieduszyckiego (1825–1899)", In: *Lwów. Misto, suspilstwo, kultura*, vol. 3, Ed. M. Mudryj, Lwów, 1999, 319.

<sup>66</sup> Dzieduszycki, Kronika, 454.

gress.<sup>67</sup> Dzieduszycki also supported writers and artists. With his help Artur Grottger started his work on tuberculosis, and in return painted many beautiful paintings for the count. At Christmas 1880, on the initiative of Juliusz Kossak and Franciszek Tępa, Polish painters prepared for the count an album of their works. Also in the circle of friends whom he supported were Leopold Starzeński, Jan Aleksander Fredro and Henryk Sienkiewicz, who was a guest of the palace in Pieniaki as he prepared to write *Colonel Wołodyjowski*. Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki and Count Karol Lanckoroński was considered to be one of the most renowned personalities in Lvov. It was said that Włodzimierz gave advice to the reach and money to the poor.<sup>68</sup>



*Picture 27. Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki's portrait from 1880 painted by Henryk Rodakowski in National Museum in Krakow (Sukiennice)*  
*Source: From authors' own collection.*

Many of those whom he supported financially, including Marian Łomnicki, Leopold Weigel, Antoni Wierzejski, and Józef Dziędzielewicz, became permanently associated with the Natural Museum in Lvov. Each year Count Włodzimierz

<sup>67</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 113.

<sup>68</sup> Karolczak, Rodzina, 201, 202.

funded research expeditions for museum staff. He also paid for field research conducted by famous Polish scientists, who in return donated specimens to the museum. In this group were Seweryn Plachetka from the agricultural school in Dublany, Władysław Tyniecki, and Maksymilian Siła Nowicki who described fauna in the area of Lvov and Podole. In 1861 Dzieduszycki sent a famous ornithologist to the Tatry Mountains, whence he returned with an impressive bird collection.<sup>69</sup>

Research in the field of natural history was very important for the count, although it was yet to be recognized by schools and universities.<sup>70</sup> His greatest passions were ornithology and ethnography and, since childhood, he had collected a variety of birds and many different species of flora and fauna.<sup>71</sup>

As a result of his lifelong pursuits the Natural Museum was created in Lvov, becoming the first such institution in Poland.<sup>72</sup> Apart from its ornithological collection, the museum also held zoological, botanical, pre-historical, mineral, geological and ethnographical collections. When Emperor Francis Joseph I visited Lvov in 1880 Włodzimierz bequeathed the collections to the nation. A year later he officially opened the museum to the public, and 1893 secured it legally through joining it to the paturzycko-zarzecka ordainment.

The museum also served educational functions. Many young people came to broaden their knowledge of botany, zoology and agriculture. Teachers organized many lectures and displays and the museum organised examinations in ornithology and entomology.<sup>73</sup> It was a professional institution with a well-qualified staff. Some of its vast resources were donated to the museum, but mostly they were owned by Count Włodzimierz. With the purchase of Michał's Treasure the museum became even more prestigious. This treasure comprised a gold hoard weighing five kilograms, probably originating from the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>74</sup>

Włodzimierz also impressively extended the ethnography section, now comprising a collection of folk pottery, clothes, ornaments, tools of everyday use, and the Hucul collection. After the opening of this section, Włodzimierz started

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<sup>69</sup> Eliaż-Radzikowski, Stanisław, "Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki", = *Przegląd Zakopiański* 15, 1899, 3, 4.

<sup>70</sup> Dzieduszycki, Kronika, 454.

<sup>71</sup> Schnür-Peplowski, Stanisław, "Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki. Wspomnienie pośmiertne", = *Gazeta Ludowa*, 1899, R. 89, no. 217.

<sup>72</sup> Wasylewski, - Stanisław, *Życie polskie w XIX wieku*, Kraków, 1962, 437.

<sup>73</sup> Dzieduszycki, Kronika, 457.

<sup>74</sup> Karolczak, Dzieduszyccy, 117.



to organize exhibitions himself.<sup>75</sup> His work and input in this field brought invaluable benefits to folk culture researchers including Oskar Kolberg.<sup>76</sup>



Picture 28. Natural Museum in Lvov on Teatralna Street  
Source: Źródło, K. Karolczak, *Dzieduszyccy. Dzieje rodu. Linia poturzycko-zarzecka*, Kraków 2001. 192.

His involvement in world class exhibitions included noteworthy participation in the World Exhibition in Wien in 1873, the Exhibition in Paris in 1878, and the Agricultural, Industrial and Art Exhibition in Krakow in 1887. He also attended the Public Exhibition in Lvov in 1894. At this time he built at his own expense the real Hucul's cabin at Stryjski Park, where he displayed ethnographic specimens and folk articles from Galicia.<sup>77</sup>

Włodzimierz was renowned for his ethnographic exhibition in Kołomyia in 1880. This was the first exhibition of its kind in Poland, designed to present the folk culture of Pokucie and Podole.<sup>78</sup> The publication of many albums and guides did much to heighten the museum's reputation. They were published as a scientific monograph entitled *Muzeum im. Dzieduszycki we Lwowie*. Fifteen volumes

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<sup>75</sup> Dzieduszycki, *Kronika*, 455.

<sup>76</sup> Turkawski, Marcelli, *Wystawa etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi*, Kraków, 1980, 16.

<sup>77</sup> F. Krček – S. Rossowski, *Katalog Powszechnej Wystawy Krajowej we Lwowie roku 1894*, Lwów, 1894, 194.

<sup>78</sup> Turkowski, *Wystawa*, 16.



were published from 1880 to 1914, and publication continued in 1915–1925 with *Rozprawy i Wiadomości z Muzeum im. Dzieduszycki*.<sup>79</sup>

Włodzimierz not only looked after the museum but was also involved in the preparation and publication of school textbooks and historical and humanistic elaborations.<sup>80</sup> He was passionate about numismatic and artistic collections, for which he created the Międzyński-Dzieduszycki Gallery in Lvov. This gallery opened in 1909 in the palace at Kurkowa Street, Lvov. Its collection included 400 works of art by prominent Polish painters, family portraits, engravings, lithographs and drawings. Many of the paintings from this collection were later found in various family residences, including the palace at Zarzecze.<sup>81</sup>

The Dzieduszycki family contributed also to the field of charity, where its leading exponent was Alfonsyna Dzieduszycka from Międzyński. In Lvov she established so-called cheap dining, where anyone could buy a meal for twenty halers. She funded hospitals for the poor, and brought up her daughters to be aware of their needs.<sup>82</sup>

In order to secure their assets, Włodzimierz made them inalienable. These included the Natural Museum with all its resources, Poturzycka Library, and art collections as well as the assets of the poturzycki, sokalski and zarzecki area. In 1893 he created the family ordainment into which all these assets were to be included.<sup>83</sup> The museum was not opened until 1939, and later went into the hands of a scientific society named after Szewczenko in Lvov.<sup>84</sup>

During the Second World War, The Dzieduszycki family life was centred on the palace of Zarzecze. The palace became a shelter for about 70 refugees and fugitives, including many children and young people. The family organized a secret school for them in the residence. After finishing school they could pass their final exams, and the school functioned until 1944.<sup>85</sup> During the occupation Dzieduszyccy, host the priest Stefan Wyszyński, who later became the primate of Poland. He stayed in the yellow chamber and said Mass in their private chapel.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *Zarys dziejów, nauk przyrodniczych w Polsce*, red. K. Maślankiewicz, Warszawa, 1938, 36.

<sup>80</sup> Karolczak, *Dzieduszyccy*, 118.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 129.

<sup>82</sup> Kieferling, *Zarzecze*, 39.

<sup>83</sup> The idea of ordainment comes from Spain, the first of which was created in 1505. In Poland it appeared in 1586 in the Radziwiłł family, later in the Zamoyski (1589), Myszkowski (1601), Ostrogski (1609) and Sułkowski (1783) families. In the nineteenth century their number significantly increased.

<sup>84</sup> Karolczak, *Dzieduszyccy*, 260.

<sup>85</sup> Karolczak, *Dzieduszyccy*, 261.

<sup>86</sup> K. Kieferling, *Zarzecze*, 45.



*Picture 29. The Dzieduszycki Family in Zarzecze in 1934*



*Picture 30. Children of Wanda from Sapiechów and Włodzimierz Dzieduszyccy.  
Source: The Dzieduszycki Museum in Zarzecze.*



Picture 31. The wedding of Anna Dzieduszycka and Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Zarzecze 1936  
Source: The Dzieduszycki Museum in Zarzecze

The end of the German occupation also marked the end of more than 400 years of Dzieduszycki family splendour. After the war the Zarzecze estate and all that it contained became part of the Treasury. Historic showpieces were taken over by museums in Rzeszów and Jarosław as the family was forced to leave Zarzecze.

The Dzieduszycki family of the Sas coat of arms, deprived of the estate and their ordainment survived the period of martial law. Today the family continues to organize conventions and family reunions at Zarzecze, and family burials still take place at the family crypt. The family thus retains its place in the region's culture.

Until the outbreak of the Second World War, Zarzecze was the regional centre of science and culture. This was the place where famous scientists, writers, poets and publicists lived. Besides Zarzecze, other leading residences in the Podkarpacie region were those of the Potocki in Łańcut and Lubomirski in Przeworsk. A residence in Łańcut had extensive assets which passed through the hands of the Pileckich, Stadnickich, Lubomirski families until, in 1816, reaching the Potocki family who in 1830 created a meaningful ordainment.<sup>87</sup> This was an era of greatness in the life of the Łańcut residence, which started to take on the character of a palace. It was a modern, "palazzo in forteza" type of residence, comprising living quarters with donjons at the corners and surrounded by bastion

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<sup>87</sup> Trzeźniowski, Zbigniew, *Łańcut i okolice*, Rzeszów, 2009, 21.

fortifications. The chambers were sumptuously and exquisitely furnished and included collections of sculptures, paintings, pottery and other art. The palace was surrounded by a vast park with a romantic building called the little palace, with a riding area and coach house for some 120 carriages.<sup>88</sup>

This era of greatness of the palace is connected with the history of the Lubomirski family. The building of the palace at the beginning of the fourteenth century was initiated by Izabela Lubomirska from Czartoryski. Because Przeworsk was very close to Łańcut it was suitable for her pupil Henryk Lubomirski. The palace was built in classical style, and its arcades housed an open sculpture gallery. The interiors were full of stuccos, fireplaces, and collections of art and books.<sup>89</sup> In this period the seat of Lubomirski family was transferred to Przeworsk. In 1830 the family established the ordainment which gained a very significant meaning in the region.<sup>90</sup> During the second decade of the nineteenth century the palace became a very important centre of the scientific, cultural and social life of the bourgeoisie, hosting many famous guests including Honoré de Balzac and the poet Zygmunt Krasiński.<sup>91</sup> Balls and Saturday parties for the local bourgeoisie were staged.<sup>92</sup> Visitors also admired the beautiful, romantic and scenic landscaped park.

When comparing the three residences discussed here, it should be emphasized that the palace in Zarzecze, despite being less sumptuous than those in Łańcut and Przeworsk, aspired to be equal with them. The residence in Zarzecze was comparable to them not only because of its architectural beauty, but also because of the richness of its scientific and cultural life. Primarily its greatness derived from its residents. The Dzieduszycki family, with its high social status and prodigious financial means, was always serving people in need. By promoting culture and science, the family upheld the national identity and patriotism in the name of the country and of the Polish people.

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<sup>88</sup> Trześniowski, Zbigniew, *Łańcut i okolice*, Rzeszów, 2009, 44–53; Idem, *Łańcut i okolice*, Krosno, 2007, 16–23.

<sup>89</sup> Motyka, Janusz, *Przeworsk i okolice*, Rzeszów, 2010, 76–81.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 97, 98.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. 75.

<sup>92</sup> Prek, Czasy, 31.

**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek  
a kora újkorban és a modern korban /**

**Learning, Intellect and Social Roles  
in the Early Modern and Modern Ages**



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